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BRITISH INDIA.

PRINTED BY R. CLAY, LONDON,
FOR
MACMILLAN & CO. CAMBRIDGE.

London: BELL AND DALDY, 186, FLEET STREET.

Dublin: WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

Edinburgh: EDMONSTON AND DOUGLAS.

Glasgow: JAMES MACLEHOSE.

Oxford: J. H. AND JAS. PARKER.

BRITISH INDIA, ITS RACES, AND ITS HISTORY,

CONSIDERED WITH REFERENCE TO THE
MUTINIES OF 1857:

A SERIES OF LECTURES ADDRESSED TO THE STUDENTS
OF THE WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE.

BY
JOHN MALCOLM LUDLOW,
" "
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

WHAT THE KOH-I-NOOR IS AMONG DIAMONDS, INDIA IS
AMONG NATIONS.—SIR CHARLES NAPIER (*the late*).

BRITISH INDIA
VOL. II.

Cambridge:
MACMILLAN AND CO.
1858.

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HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

No. VIII
REVISED

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LORD HASTINGS—as I shall call Lord Moira at once—though, when in England, he had been most hostile to the warlike policy of Lord Wellesley, yet in India (as he avowed himself many years

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later) took up and continued the policy of the latter. Two wars signalise the military history of his administration—the Goorkha war and the Pindarree, which afterwards became the second great Mahratta war.

The Goorkhas, now better known as Nepaulese, are a people of the Mongolian stock, but belonging to the Tibetan, probably its noblest family; intermixed, moreover, with Hindoos, who, led apparently by Rajpoots, have been the founders of all the principal houses, and have introduced the Hindoo worship, the chief object of adoration being, as before stated, Siva, under the name of Gorukhnath. The name of Nepaul, which is their kingdom, is properly that of a particular valley within the Himalayas, but seems to have been extended with the growth of the power which sprang from it, until, in 1814, the country so called stretched 700 miles along the northern frontier of British India. The name Goorkha is that of a town and tribe, the chief of which, in the latter half of the last century, made himself master of the whole country, which his descendants still govern. Once united, they encroached greatly towards the south, along the whole of their borders; they even crossed the Sutledge, and came in contact with the Sikhs under Runjeet Sing. Another expedition of theirs to the north against Lhasa, in 1792, when they compelled the Grand Lama to pay them tribute, drew upon them a Chinese invasion, and they were compelled in turn to pay a yearly tribute to the Emperor of China.

Their encroachments on the British frontier continued from 1787 to 1813, in spite of re-

monstrances on the part of the Indian Government, and of the appointment of a joint boundary commission. At last the English re-occupied part of the disputed territory. The Nepaulese now, in a grand council of chiefs, resolved on war. The failure before Bhurtpore was one main ground of their resolution. "If a small fort, the work of man, could arrest the English," they said, "how can they storm God's own mountain fastnesses?" Yet others bade them beware: "We have but hunted deer hitherto," they said; "this will be a war with tigers."

Taking advantage of the rainy season, when the troops had been withdrawn from the recently occupied territory, and only the civil officers and police remained, the Goorkhas re-invaded it, killed most of the police, and shot the head officer to death with arrows, having tied him to a tree; and the act was avowed and supported by the Raja. Lord Hastings, on his side, now immediately prepared for war,—filling the Bengal treasury, still nearly empty, in spite of the late peace governors, chiefly by means of loans from the newly-installed Nawab of Oude, made at a rate of interest much lower than the current one.

It was determined, instead of acting on the defensive, to attack the Nepaulese frontier on four separate points, with four divisions, comprising about 23,000 men. The Goorkhas had only about 12,000, but all well armed, well clad, well trained; short, sturdy, broad faced mountaineers, whose features were hideous to the sepoys, so much so that it was reported amongst them that the Goorkhas had animals' heads upon their shoulders; they were also considered to be

PART II. sorcerers. But they had, moreover, in their
History. favour the nature of their country, consisting
LECT. XI. on the lowest level of a rich, rank, unhealthy
plain, called the Terye, almost deadly to Europeans, then of a dense forest called the Sal, then of a series of mountain ridges, cut by rugged passes and ravines, and rising to the bleak tablelands and icy summits of the Himalayas—as killing to the sepoys as the Terye to the European.

The first fight of the campaign was ominous of future difficulties. 600 Nepaulese, under a leader named Balbhuddra Sing, had shut themselves up in a square stockaded fort named Kalunga, on a steep detached hill 600 feet high, covered with jungle. An attempt to scale the wall failed. At the second attack upon the gate, General Gillespie, the English commander, seeing a small party under Major Ludlow (my father) isolated before it, led on a rescue, and fell while cheering on his men, shot through the heart (Oct. 22, 1814). A first retreat was hereon ordered, to wait the arrival of a battering-train from Delhi. A breach was effected, a new assault ordered, the troops being directed to march with muskets unloaded, in order to carry the place by the bayonet alone. Again it failed, with a loss of 680 killed and wounded (Nov. 27). At last a bombardment was tried. In three days the garrison had to abandon the place, Balbhuddra Sing making his escape unperceived with seventy men, the remnant of his force, but who was then joined by 300 fresh men. He was, however, pursued and overtaken by Major Ludlow, and routed with native troops in a sharp action (1st Dec.). Kalunga was demolished.

The affair was one, however, by no means calculated to depress the spirits of the Goorkhas, or to raise those of the English. Indeed, 12,000 new men were immediately raised by the latter.

The next attack was upon the fort of Jytuck, built in an angle where two mountain ridges meet, 5,000 feet above the sea, 4,000 above the plain, defended by stockades at various heights. Two columns, under Majors Richards and Ludlow, ascended the height by different tracks; the general in command, General Martindell, sending no supports, as he had been advised to do. Major Ludlow's column ascended first, dislodged a post, which fled behind a stockade. The grenadiers of an English regiment, the 53rd, insisted on being at once led against it. They rushed forward, before the sepoy had formed in line, before the whole detachment had come up. They were checked by a smart volley; the Goorkhas now rushed out and drove them back. A panic seized the sepoy, who tumbled headlong down the hill, pursued by the Goorkhas. Meanwhile, Major Richards had accomplished the duty he was sent to perform—that of cutting off the water supply of the garrison. He had now to engage the Goorkhas single-handed. They attacked him with the utmost bravery, charging on foot to the very muzzles of the guns. For six hours the English held out. The ammunition was exhausted; the sepoy had to defend themselves with stones. Still, if furnished with supplies, Major Richards could have held his ground. But at seven at night he received from General Martindell the order to retreat. To retreat! down sixteen miles of paths scarcely

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admitting even of two men abreast, which it was almost a miracle that he could have ever struggled through! The whole body must have perished, but for a small band of heroes—Lieutenant Thackeray, Ensign Wilson, and the light company of the 26th Native Infantry. They kept in check the whole body of the Goorkhas; and when at last both officers and many of the men were killed, and the enemy were able to press through, the worst of the road had been passed by the bulk of the detachment, and the night concealed the fugitives. But the total loss of the two parties had been 465 killed and wounded, including 7 officers—4 in Ludlow's column, 3 in Richards's (27th December). General Martindell suspended his operations.

Farther to the west, General Ochterlony, the gallant defender of Delhi in the last Mahratta war, to whom the main credit of the war was eventually due, rising from the banks of the Sutledge, had, although opposed to Amar Sing, the bravest Goorkha leader, gradually dislodged the enemy from stronghold after stronghold; yet even the movements of his corps, though on the whole successful, included one or two small checks, which served to keep up the confidence of the Goorkhas (October—April, 1815).

General Wood, with the third division, in crossing the Sal forest, was surprised by being resisted at a stockade; and after it had actually been turned, ordered a retreat. After much useless marching and countermarching, in pursuit of an enemy who always evaded him, and much wasting of crops and burning of villages in the Terye, Wood found his troops so unhealthy

that he went into cantonments (December—May, 1815).

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The strangest fate was, however, reserved for the main division, which, under General Marley, was to advance against the Nepaulese capital, Katmandoo. He scattered about detachments without support, so that, after one or two smart successes, two of them were cut off with considerable loss. Finally, although reinforced to the strength of 13,000 men, he one day "set off before daylight in the morning, without publishing any notification of his intention, or taking any means of providing for the conduct of the ordinary routine of command." General George Wood succeeded him ; but, beyond sticking to his post, did nothing to speak of.

Beyond Ochterlony's progress, the only successes of this campaign were those of two detachments, the one under Major Latter, which brought the petty Raja of Sikkim, east of Nepaul, to ally himself to the British ; and the other under Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, who, with an irregular force of Patans from Rohilcund, obtained important advantages in Kumaon, a province conquered by the Goorkhas in the north-west ; and, notwithstanding the defeat and capture of Captain Hearsay, commander of another body of irregulars, Gardner's success (after receiving reinforcements under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolls) before the important fort of Almora, was the first severe check inflicted upon Nepaul. The fort, with the provinces of Gerhwal and Kumaon, were ceded and permanently annexed, and Captain Hearsay delivered up without ransom. It thus singularly happened, as

PART II. has been observed, that whilst the operations
History. directed against the centre of the Nepaulese
LECT. XI. power proved in this campaign almost a total
failure, mere diversions on its flank produced
most important results.

Ochterlony meanwhile, having reduced all the Goorkha detached posts, had driven them before him to Malaun, a ridge of steep peaks, protected by stone redoubts, and all but two carefully stockaded. Ochterlony occupied these two, though not without a couple of repulses in the operations connected with the attack. The Goorkha general, Amar Sing, determined to retake one of these, called Deothal. The fight was the severest, it is said, ever yet known in India. The Goorkhas pressed forward to the very muzzles of the guns, endeavouring to strike down our men over the bayonets. Mowed down by grape from two field-pieces, they yet fought on till all the gunners were killed, and the guns were only worked by three officers and three privates. At last, reinforcements reaching the British, a bayonet charge was ordered, and the Goorkhas were broken and fled, leaving their commander dead on the field (April 16, 1815). The body was sent back, and the next day two of his wives burnt themselves with it, in the sight of both armies. The fort of Malaun proper was now invested, but before long the main body of the garrison surrendered, and Amar Sing had to conclude a convention, yielding all the country west of the Jumna. Most of his soldiers took service with the English, for duty in the hills. Hence those Goorkha troops now doing such good service before Delhi.

UCHTERLONY'S SUCCESSES.

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The surrender of Jytuck was included in the terms of this convention. This had been attacked with 18-pounders and some large mortars, and at last blockaded—the garrison still resolutely holding out until released by the convention.

The Nepaulese Government now made proposals for peace. The English conditions were—Abandonment of all claims on the hill rajas west of the Kalee river (the only one whom it may be worth while naming is the Raja of Sirmoor, the territory within which Simla is now situate); 2, Cession of the whole of the Terye, that grassy plain at the mountain foot, stretching on a length of 500 miles from the Tista river on the east to the Ganges on the west, but not more than 20 miles wide; 3, Restoration of conquered territory to our new ally, the Raja of Sikkim; and, 4, a British residency at Katmandoo, the capital. After a while, however, the negotiations were broken off on the second point, the cession of the Terye, which was the source of a large revenue to Nepaul.

A new campaign being necessary (1816), General (now Sir David) Ochterlony was properly placed at the head of the army, with the chief political, as well as military, command. Advancing towards the chain of forts which guard the main pass into Nepaul, called the Chiria Ghati pass, Ochterlony found it too strong to be attempted. But, after some time, an almost impracticable pass was discovered,—a deep gully, sometimes reduced to a mere water-course, over which the trees joined their foliage, up which the troops could just climb, frequently in single file. Sir David Ochterlony in person led the

PART II. march, on foot, at the head of the 87th regiment.

History. When they reached the summit, they found

LECT. XI. that the stockades had been turned. The

Goorkhas fell back surprised, but returned after awhile, and made a fierce attack upon the English position on the heights of Makwanpore. It failed, however, with a loss to the assailants of 500, against rather more than 200 of the English. Another success was obtained by another brigade, which had also discovered an undefended path, over Ranjor Sing Thapa, the defender of Jytuck. The Nepaulese Court became now seriously alarmed; all the English conditions were accepted, besides the cession of the territory conquered in the last campaign, and peace was finally concluded. Some portions of territory were, however, subsequently re-ceded to the Nepaulese.

A curious incident now occurred. The Nepaulese were tributaries to the Emperor of China. On the war breaking out, they applied for assistance to him, alleging that the English wanted to pass through Nepaul to Thibet. By the time the war was over, a Chinese army appeared. Explanations were, however, easily come to, the Chinese officers showing, on the whole, great good sense, and the Nepaulese were treated with great indignity by their patrons.

Although the rear of the English was in the main secured by treaties with two chiefs whom the Mahrattas claimed as their dependents, the Nawab of Bhopal and the chief of Saugur, yet, simultaneously with the Nepaul war, some hostilities had to be carried on in Cutch, on behalf of the Guicowar, in virtue of his subsidiary treaty,

which ended by a sort of subsidiary alliance with the chief, or rao; some piratical tribes on the coast of the Gulf of Cutch were also reduced.

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Internal disturbances also broke out, about this time, in various places. A house-tax produced a serious insurrection at Bareilly, the chief city of Rohilcund, which soon assumed the colour of a Mussulman rising. The insurgents were, however, unprepared and undisciplined, and a body of about 5000 of them were easily defeated by much inferior forces, leaving between 300 and 400 dead. "The tumult," says Mr. Wilson, "would probably not have occurred, had the people of Bareilly been taught to regard those placed in authority over them with confidence and good-will." In the Dooab, the *talookdar* of Hattras, Dyaram, who had a strong mud fort, with a ditch 120 feet wide and 80 deep, and 8000 troops, of whom 3,500 were cavalry, set the Government at defiance, sheltering robbers and sharing their spoils, and had to be subdued, his fort being dismantled (1816). More serious disturbances took place along the western frontier, between South Behar and the Northern Circars, owing entirely, it would appear, by Mr. Wilson's showing, to the oppression of the Company's judicial and fiscal system. The assessment to the land revenue was originally calculated on an erroneous principle, and was excessive. The zemindars were forced to raise their demands upon the cultivators, who could not pay them; their own estates were sold over their heads to land-speculators, sharp cheating Bengalees, very often revenue officers themselves. The people were reduced to such distress, that

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they sold everything, even to their wives and children, to obtain food, and eventually fled to the forests. In the year 1816, between 5000 and 6000 houses were deserted. The salt monopoly was introduced, and the price of salt raised six or seven fold. Now the people of Orissa were accustomed—from greater poverty, I presume—to eat their boiled rice the second day, when it is still flatter and more tasteless than when newly boiled, so that salt was more particularly necessary to them. They are reckoned by the Hindoos a proverbially dull race; and seem to be, in the main, aboriginal tribes converted—the country including, indeed, large tracts, such as Goomsur, and the Khond country generally, in which Hindooism has made no progress even yet. Even under Hindoo rajas, the Oriyas had seldom been considered fit for public employment. But now a locust horde of Bengalee functionaries, mostly Mussulmen, were let loose upon them, who plundered these poor stupid savages in the most shameless way. Village police officers were found eventually to have realized, in a few years, 10,000% by extortion. Eventually, a wild, unorganised rebellion broke out, which was easily put down by military force, though the leaders escaped, and no promise of reward could induce the country people to betray them. A special commissioner was sent down, who, fortunately, seems to have been a sensible man. Large remissions of revenue were made; a new settlement made for three years; and some of the worst offenders among the native officials punished; some of the worst European officers removed. “The people,” says Mr. Wilson, “were

much less to blame than the functionaries of the State, whether native or European; the former having remorselessly aggravated, by corruption and tyranny, intolerable burdens; the latter having permitted free scope to their subordinates; neglected to make themselves acquainted with the institutions of the country and the circumstances of the people; and having omitted to bring to the knowledge of the Government the utter inapplicability to Cuttack of arrangements which, whether applicable or not, had been imposed upon the agricultural population of Bengal" (1816-18).

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The state of Central India at this period was one bordering upon anarchy. The troops of Scindia and Holkar were paid by assignments of revenue, and committed frightful exactions. The Court of Holkar, under the regency of Toolasee Báee, the wife of the late prince, was a scene of unbridled profligacy. That of the Peshwa was little better, although his religious devotion was such as to give a dinner to 100,000 Brahmins, in expiation for the murder by his father of a Brahmin, whose ghost had appeared to his spiritual adviser; or again (which was much more sensible, certainly), to plant more than a million of mango trees near Poona, as an expiation for his own crimes. He was completely under the influence of a favourite, Trimbakjee Danglia (known as Trimluck), who from a runner had been promoted to a spy, then to a pander, and finally to a prime minister,—an inveterate enemy to the English. He ended—on behalf, it would seem, of his master—by assassinating an envoy from the Guicowar, sent to settle some differences

PART II. between the Courts of Baroda and Poona. Mr.
History. Elphinstone, then resident, required Trimbakjee
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consented. He was confined in the island of Salsette, but eventually escaped, under somewhat romantic circumstances, a groom having conveyed to him the requisite information by singing Mahratta songs outside the palace where he was confined. In the Nizam's territory, English influence was rendered hateful by the sway of the Minister Chundoo Lall. The wild aboriginal Bheels and Mhars plundered unchecked all around their hills.

But the most marking and menacing feature of the time was the rise of the Free Companies and Pindarrees. These are for a long time scarcely distinguishable from each other ; but eventually, a line of demarcation appears ; the free companies, composed chiefly of Mussulmen, tending to a more definite organisation, and spreading chiefly to the westward, under their noted chief, Ameer Khan, whilst the Pindarrees were, in the main, Hindoos and outcasts, and remained mere banditti ; ravaging, moreover, more to the eastward.

Ameer Khan was an Afghan trooper, who had gradually raised himself, as a soldier of fortune, to practical independence. He sought his chief prey among the princes of Rajpootana ; the Rana, so called, of Oodipore, the Rajas of Jeypore, Jodhpore, &c., feudal chiefs, always jealous of each other, and to whom he sold his services alternately, till he came at last to deal with them as an equal, taking his seat on the same throne with the two last named, although descended

"from a long line of royal ancestors," beginning with the gods themselves. His assistance at this time, if we may trust his own memoirs, was claimed at once from Shah Shooja of Kabool, from Beloochistan, and from Scinde. So completely did he harry the wretched Rajpoot chiefs, that one of them, Mân Sing, of Jodhpore, shammed idiocy until he was able to obtain British assistance.

The Pindarrees had for principal leaders at this time Cheetoo, a Jât bought in famine time by a Pindarree, and brought up by him in his own line of life ; Karim Khan, a Rohilla, both of whom had obtained from Scindia jagheers and the title of Nawab, and Dost and Wazil Mohammed. They had invaded the British territory in 1812, and again in 1815, when they ravaged as far as Masulipatam, plundering above 300 villages, and wounding, torturing, or murdering above 4,000 persons. In 1816 they appeared in the Northern Circars and Cuttack, and threatened Jagannath, several bands also ravaging Berar. Although they received some severe checks from British troops on this occasion, Lord Hastings saw clearly that, with such lawless marauders, it was hopeless to remain only on the defensive ; that they must be attacked in their strongholds. The plan was strongly opposed at home, but at last the consent of the Board of Control was obtained to offensive measures. Hence the Pindarree, which afterwards became the second Mahratta war.

Notice having been given to Scindia that the British Government could no longer observe the article of the treaty of 1805 which debarred it

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from forming alliances with the Rajpoot States, and an invitation addressed to him to concur in exterminating the Pindarrees, applications began to pour in from these States,—from the chiefs of Jeypore, Jodhpore, Kota, and from other petty chiefs on the borders of Bundelcund, or the farther limits of Malwa, for British protection. Ameer Khan even offered to give up plundering and lend his assistance against the Pindarrees, if guaranteed in his actual possessions. The Peshwa being discovered to have kept up communications with Trimbakjee Dangle, even after setting a price upon his head, so that the latter was able to organise a somewhat considerable force both of Pindarrees and Mahrattas, strong measures were taken against him. He was required to recognise the total dissolution of the Mahratta confederacy, to give up all claims to be its head, all claims upon the territories of the other Mahratta princes, and various smaller chiefs, and generally over all countries north of the Nerbudda; to give up the fort of Ahmednugger, and some other districts; and, instead of the military contingent which he was required to provide by the Treaty of Bassein, to cede territory and revenue to the amount of 340,000*l.* a year, for payment of an additional subsidiary force. Upon the investment of his capital he signed the treaty, called that of Poona (18th June, 1817). A subsequent arrangement with the Guicowar, who was materially benefited by the treaty of Poona, gave the English the important city of Ahmedabad, formerly the Mahomedan capital of Guzerat (November, 1817).

Next came Scindia's turn. Many of the Pindarree chiefs were in his pay. He durst not, however, take arms in their defence; but was discovered to have promised them assistance, and at the same time to have incited the Nepaulese to attack the English again. Lord Hastings resolved to bring him at once to terms. He had made Gwalior his capital, in the heart of the richest part of his dominions; but about twenty miles south of this place extends, across the breadth of the Gwalior territory, a ridge of steep hills, covered with brushwood, and crossed by two roads only down which artillery can pass, and perhaps cavalry. By occupying these roads, Lord Hastings cut off all communication between Scindia's capital and the rest of his territories. A new treaty was now offered, and Scindia had scarcely any alternative but to sign. He undertook never more to support, but to co-operate efficiently against, the Pindarrees and all other predatory bands; to maintain a contingent of 5,000 men, under British officers, such contingent to be maintained out of the pensions paid by the British Government to him and his family, and out of certain tributes; not to move any other corps of his army without the consent of the British Government, and to hand over the forts of Asseerghur and Hindia as pledges of his sincerity. The eighth article of the treaty of 1805, by which the English were interdicted from Rajpoot alliances, was formally abrogated; and, whilst Scindia's tribute from those States was maintained, he was forbidden from any interference with such as should form engagements

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with the Company. This important treaty, it may be added, was obtained at a time when the English army was decimated by cholera (6th November, 1817).

Meanwhile, three armies had been set on foot against the Pindarrees (though obviously with a view to ulterior eventualities), those of Bengal, the Deckan, and Guzerat. The second, which was the main one, amounted to 53,000 men, in six divisions. The Bengal one comprised 34,000 men, in four divisions, with two corps of observation, besides various bodies of irregulars, about 24,000 in all. The Pindarrees had scarcely in all more than 30,000 men, and their leaders were at feud with each other. It would be totally uninteresting to go through the details of this campaign, consisting of a series of pursuits and skirmishes. One of its incidents was, the breaking of the power of Ameer Khan—a British force under General Ochterlony having so manœuvred as to separate his two main bodies of troops. Their disbandment was thus compelled, money being advanced to enable him to pay off arrears, and a portion of his troops reorganised under British colours.

Farther south, however, in spite of the late treaty of Poona, actual hostilities by the Peshwa had broken out. Recruiting on behalf of the Company had been checked underhand. Having afterwards obtained from Sir John Malcolm, agent for the Governor-General in Central India, orders for the restoration of some hill-forts pledged for the execution of the treaty, and for the removal of a large portion of the British force, and having been invited by

him to recruit for the purpose of co-operating against the Pindarrees, the Peshwa began recruiting with great activity, and putting his forts and his whole country in a state of defence. He placed himself in communication with the Raja of Nagpore, with Holkar, Scindia, Ameer Khan (who was not yet rendered powerless). He endeavoured to win over the sepoys by magnificent offers; but these were immediately reported by them to their officers, and the negotiations carried on so as completely to entrap the Peshwa. Only very few desertions took place, and those of men whose homes were situate in the Peshwa's dominions, and who were intimidated by violence threatened or offered to their families. Lastly, an attempt was prepared to attack the British residency, and murder the English Resident, Mr. Elphinstone. But Bappoo Gokla, the Peshwa's chief general, a Brahmin not only of high courage but chivalrous feeling, who had frequently urged the Peshwa to begin open warfare instead of going on plotting in secret, and in whom the Mahratta chieftains placed such confidence that they had required the Peshwa to take oath that he would follow Gokla's counsels implicitly, and had placed nearly a million of money in his hands,—Gokla, I say, steadfastly set his face against the plot of assassination. Fearing an attack, Mr. Elphinstone gave orders to the few forces at his disposal to encamp at Kirkee, the best position near Poona, and sent orders for some few additional troops which had not far to come up. On this, the Peshwa called out his army. They were 10,000 horse, and as many foot. The English

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had only 3,000 infantry. Their leader, Colonel Burr, was suffering under an incurable attack of paralysis; yet they attacked. The Mahrattas were astounded,—had to be cheered and taunted on by Gokla. Of their infantry, only one regular battalion, under a Portuguese named De Pinto, showed any steadiness. The cavalry did better, but a large body of them plunged into a deep slough in front of the British left, which was unknown to either party; and whilst tumbling about in confusion, were shot down with terrible effect by our sepoys. In short, the Mahratta army was completely routed, with the loss of 500 men and more; the English losing only eighty-three (November 5th, 1817). The Peshwa durst not meet a second engagement, and fled to Sattara. Poona was reoccupied.

A very similar course of proceedings had, within the same period, taken place at Nagpore. Appa Sahib, although mainly indebted to the English for his elevation, had soon begun to intrigue against them, with the Peshwa especially. He had been of late increasing largely his army and fortifying his positions; and, like the Peshwa, was known to meditate an attack on the British residency and cantonments. Like Mr. Elphinstone at Poona, Mr. Jenkins, the Resident, ordered the small British force, under Colonel Scott, to take up a position on the Seetabuldee hills. They were in all only 1,350 rank and file. They were attacked by 12,000 horse and 8,000 foot, the latter including 3,000 Arabs. The action lasted eighteen hours. The British were surrounded and harassed on all sides; and Captain Fitzgerald, who held the cavalry post on the

southern hill, repeatedly asked leave of Colonel Scott to charge. "Let him do so at his peril," was Colonel Scott's last answer. "At my peril be it," replied Fitzgerald, and charged upon the main body of the Mahratta horse, cutting through them, as one of them said afterwards, like a candle flame through a thread; breaking up a body of infantry behind, and taking two guns. The troops on the northern hill saw the charge. Fired with emulation, and disregarding the orders of their commanding officer, they rushed forward in like manner on the Arabs who were opposed to them, and before long the battle was at an end; one-fourth, however, of those engaged on the British side being killed or wounded (27th November, 1817). Let it be observed that the troops who on this occasion overcame such overwhelming odds were, with the exception of their officers and of a detachment of European infantry, altogether native. Capt. Fitzgerald's charge in particular, which decided the fate of the battle, was made by three troops of Bengal cavalry, and twenty-five troopers of the Madras force. The sensation produced by the fight of Seetabuldee is said to have been prodigious. It is satisfactory to add that one of the Madras regiments engaged recovered on this occasion, on its petition, its old number and facings, of which it had been deprived at the Vellore mutiny.

Appa Sahib at once negotiated after the battle, but temporised until the arrival of General Doveton, with forces sufficient to overcome him. He was required to acknowledge that he had forfeited his crown, to disband his army, and deliver up his ordnance and military stores, to cede Nagpore as a temporary pledge of his

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fidelity, and to take up his abode at the Residency until matters should be finally arranged. He assented to these terms, but his troops refused to break up, and their camp had to be taken up by force of arms, sixty-one pieces of ordnance falling into the hands of the British; after which even, the Arab mercenaries and others defended themselves in the town for several days so successfully, that they at last obtained very favourable terms of capitulation. It was now required of Appa Sahib that he should cede all territory north of the Nerbudda, give up all forts which might be required by the Resident, and the Seetabuldee hills, which were to be fortified; to employ ministers in the confidence of the British Government, and to act conformably to the advice of the Resident, &c., &c. The Raja consented to all, and was restored to his throne,—but, as will be seen, for a short time only.

In the meanwhile, Holkar, in his turn, had come in conflict with the British forces. Toolasee Báee, the regent, being suspected of a wish to make terms with the English, had been beheaded, and the leading chiefs had sworn faith to each other, and had prepared to meet the British forces under Sir Thomas Hislop, who attacked them at Mehidpore (21st December, 1817). This was a very severely contested action, although the odds were more equal in point of numbers than in any other of this campaign. The enemy were drawn up in two lines, one of infantry, with a range of heavy batteries, mounting seventy guns in front; the other of cavalry, in masses, the river Sipra running in

the form of a horse-shoe, so as to cover their front, left flank, and rear. Instead of turning their right flank, which was open, the river was crossed in front. The Patans stood admirably to their guns, whose weight overpowered the English field-pieces. However, the victory was again complete, though with the severe loss of 778 killed and wounded, against 3,000 of the enemy.¹ A treaty was now concluded with young Holkar, who was released from dependency on the Peshwa, and guaranteed by the British Government in his dominions, after divers cessions of territory, including that of all to the south of the Satpoora hills to the British Government. A field force was to be maintained by the British Resident, and stationed at pleasure in the Raja's territories (6th January, 1818).

The northern portions of the British forces now occupied themselves in hunting down the Pindarrees. Two of their chief leaders, Karim Khan and Wazil Mohammed, with others of less note, eventually gave themselves up, and received grants of land in Hindostan, where many of them settled down into industrious farmers,—troubled, it might be, now and then in their turn by Dekoits. The third great chief, Cheetoo, saw his *durra* or band entirely broken up in a surprise, and escaped with only 200 followers, seeking refuge at first with the Nawab of Bhopal, who, however, would only grant him personal protection. Many of the

¹ Lutfullah asserts that the battle was only won through the treachery of the Nawab Abdul Ghafeer Khan. See p. 103 of his Autobiography.

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Pindarrees were destroyed by the more warlike among the village population; more, perhaps, by the wild tribes, the Bheels and Gonds. Still, although a feudatory of Scindia, Jeswant Rao Bhao, who had protected Cheetoo, was attacked, his town of Jawad stormed, and his territories transferred to another holder, there were districts in which the villagers would never betray the marauders.

During this time General Smith had been pursuing the Peshwa through the Ghauts. In the course of his pursuit, Poona, his capital, was left open by the British movements. He marched upon it. Colonel Burn, left in defence of the city, ordered Captain Staunton, with the detachment at Seroor, to reinforce him. Staunton set out, having with him one battalion of Bombay native infantry, 600 strong, two six-pounder guns, and twenty-six European artillerymen, and about 350 irregular horse. On the heights of Korigaon, overlooking the Bima, he suddenly found in front of him the whole army of the Peshwa, 20,000 horse, and nearly 8,000 foot. It was ten in the morning; he had just time to occupy a part of the village of Korigaon, surrounded by a wall, and protected by the river on the south. The march had been long, the men had neither food nor water; it was twelve in the day when the action began. Under that tremendous sun, the men fought for nine hours (1st January, 1818). One of their two guns was taken, as well as a building, called a *choultry*, or resting-place for travellers, in which their wounded were laid, the latter bayoneted. Lieutenant Pattinson, a very power-

ful man, six feet seven inches high, lay on the ground, shot through the body with a mortal wound. But hearing that the gun was taken, he rose up again, called to the grenadiers to follow him, and, seizing a musket by the muzzle, rushed into the midst of the Arabs, clubbing them right and left, till a second ball prostrated him; but the men had been animated by his example, and the gun was retaken, the Arabs lying piled over one another all around. Still the odds were tremendous. Some of the men, both European and natives, wished to surrender. Staunton urged them to hold out, bidding them expect no mercy, and the *choultry* being retaken, the sight of the headless body of Lieutenant Chisholm, the commandant of the artillery, again nerved the men to desperation. The Peshwa himself, Gokla, Trimbakjee Danglia, were spectators, directing the attacks. But about nine in the evening the Arabs drew off; and the Peshwa, learning General Smith's approach, marched away at daybreak. Ignorant of the cause of his retreat, Staunton marched back to Seroor, entering it with both his guns and all his wounded, drums beating and colours flying, a victor. This was, perhaps, the noblest feat of arms ever performed in India; Seetabuldee even was outdone. But the loss was great. Of the twenty-six artillerymen, twelve were killed and wounded, and there were 153 killed and wounded in the native battalion, besides a smaller number of the horse. A public monument was afterwards erected on the spot of this memorable defence.

The pursuit of the Peshwa was now renewed.

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The town of Sattara, the old seat of Mahratta sovereignty, surrendered on the 10th February, and a proclamation in Mahratta was issued by Mr. Elphinstone, announcing the deposal of the Peshwa, and that the Company intended to take possession of his territories, with the exception of a suitable domain to be reserved for the Raja of Sattara. Ten days later (20th Feb., 1818), the Peshwa was defeated at Ashtee, where he had been overtaken by the cavalry and horse artillery, a body of 8,000 or 10,000 Mahratta horse standing firm at first under Gokla, but becoming disheartened by his death. Bappoo Gokla was the ablest and bravest Mahratta general ever opposed to the English. He had long been in relation with them, had served under Colonel Wellesley, and had been recommended by him to the Peshwa. Mr. Wilson, with surely too niggardly praise, says of him, "He does not seem to have been actuated by any sinister motives, nor by any personal aversion to his former friends and patrons, and may be entitled to credit for a patriotic feeling." An important prize, made at the battle of Ashtee, was that of the Raja of Sattara himself, whom the Peshwa carried about with him, and who was now taken under British protection. The Peshwa fled towards Nagpore, where Appa Sahib invited him; but the junction was frustrated, the Peshwa's army again routed at Seonee, 18th April, and his flight renewed with mere remnants of his troops. Some of his more important feudatories were, meanwhile, reduced in the south by Colonel, afterwards General Sir Thomas Munro, whose

personal popularity amongst the agricultural population was such, that he was able to garrison the forts with local militia or *peons*, armed with spears and swords, or sometimes rising to matchlocks, thus rendering available the whole of the regular troops for active service.

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So much had been done already, that Lord Hastings had thought it time to break up much of the army. Sir Thomas Hislop, the Commander-in-Chief, was returning to Madras, taking possession, in his way, of the forts in those portions of territory south of the Nerbudda which had been ceded by Scindia and Holkar. On approaching Talneir (Feb. 27), a fort on the right bank of the Taptee garrisoned by 306 Arabs, the British troops were fired upon. A message was sent to the *killadar*, or governor, apprising him that he would be treated as a rebel if he resisted. No answer was returned, and the garrison kept on firing. A battery was brought to bear, and preparations made for a storm. Terms were now asked by the garrison, but it would seem that assailants and assailed were unintelligible to each other. The storming party pushed forward, finding all the gates open but the last—a wicket gate, which was, however, opened in turn. What took place now was never exactly known. It is said that some of the grenadiers attempted to disarm the Arabs by force,—a proceeding which it is a point of honour for them to resist. At any rate, the gates were closed, and all within slain. The assault was now made with ungovernable fury, and the whole garrison massacred; a woman and two boys being the only

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persons saved. The *killadar*, who, with others, had surrendered, without arms—though without making himself known, at the first entrance of the troops (thereby clearly proving, as it seems to me, that treachery could not be intended, though escape might be)—was hanged on one of the bastions. The act was strongly commented on, both by the Governor-General and at home; and in passing a vote of thanks to Sir Thomas Hislop and the army of the Deckan, the execution of the *killadar* was expressly excepted from the vote by both Houses; Mr. Canning declaring that neither the *East India Company* nor the *Government* were satisfied with the explanations received. Still, the effect of the severities at Talneir was to produce the prompt surrender of most of the strongholds of Candiaish, the original seat of Trimbakjee Danglia's party, though a severe resistance was experienced at Maligaum, from some Arabs, who had been in the Nagpore service, and who ended by obtaining an honourable capitulation (29th June).

Resistance was also experienced from some of the forts included in the Nagpore cessions; and when reduced, it was found that the commandants had with justice asserted that they had orders from the Raja not to deliver them up. Appa Sahib was known to be in communication with the Peshwa, who about this time made that movement for a junction to which I have already referred. He gave out that he proposed to retire to Chanda, a fortified town 100 miles south-west from Nagpore, where were already his family and the bulk of his treasures.

Instead of allowing him to leave, Mr. Jenkins, the Resident, had him arrested, and now found abundant proofs of his intrigues, as well as of his having been privy to the death—by poison—of his predecessor. It was resolved to depose him, and to place on the throne a boy, grandson of Ragojee Bosla, under British guardianship; Appa Sahib being sent to reside at Benares. The town of Chanda was stormed.

Suddenly, on his journey to Benares, the Raja disappeared (13th May, 1818). He had succeeded in bribing some of the sepoys. A pillow took his place on his couch; the native officer who looked into the tent saw him, as he thought, at rest, with two servants kneeling by him and shampooing him. He fled into the hills, where, under the protection of Chain Sah, a Gond chieftain, he remained for awhile. A reward of 10,000*l.* and 1000*l.* a year for life, afterwards doubled, for his apprehension, failed to bribe the mountaineers.

The war was now over, except the securing, if possible, the persons of Appa Sahib and the Peshwa, and the getting rid of Cheetoo and Trimbakjee Danglia, both of whom were with the latter prince. Weary of flight, Bajee Rao, the Peshwa, addressed himself to Sir John Malcolm, as to an old friend, asking for his intercession with the Governor-General, and for a personal interview. He had still about 8000 men, protected by the guns of Asseerghur, a stronghold of Scindia's, agreed to be ceded to the English, but which, as was afterwards discovered, the *killadar* had secret orders to hold; besides which, as the chief said afterwards to

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Sir John Malcolm, "with Mahrattas, forts like that" (pointing to Asseerghur) "are not given up upon orders." The terms offered by Sir John were, the renunciation of all sovereignty, and immediate surrender; to be followed by residence at Benares, or any holy place in Hindostan, to be appointed by the Governor-General. On his side, Sir John promised a pension of not less than 80,000*l.* a year, and that his ruined followers, and family allowances to Brahmins and religious foundations, should not be overlooked (4th June, 1818). Sir John Malcolm was severely censured by Lord Hastings for offering terms so favourable, and has been freely accused of having been tricked by Mahratta flattery. But a harassing warfare was put an end to; Bajee Rao never gave any more trouble; and Lord Hastings afterwards admitted that none of the evil consequences which he had anticipated had flowed from the arrangement. Bajee Rao eventually received the town and territory of Bithoor, as a jagheer, with civil and criminal jurisdiction, free from the Company's regulations. Recent events have rendered that name ominous. It is well known that the Cawnpore murderer, Nana Sahib, is the adopted son and heir of the late Peshwa; and the cause of his hostility to the British name seems to be the refusal of the Government to continue to him the Peshwa's pension, and (which appears, indeed, far more questionable) the confiscation by them, as lords paramount, of the arrears of pension due at the Peshwa's death.

Some useful work was now done by Sir John Malcolm in quelling the Bheels, who, formerly

employed as a rural police, had during the late disorders become most formidable plunderers.¹ They were on the one hand checked by a few severe examples, and pacified on the other by being restored to their old police functions, under pledges of fidelity; whilst a Bheel militia was raised under British officers, which has since performed excellent service. There was more difficulty in subduing the Gonds, who were in arms for Appa Sahib, or rather in support of their own Raja, Chain Sah, who had given him refuge, in the Mahadeo hills, to the south of the Nerbudda, and were strengthened by bodies of Mahrattas and Arabs. The number in arms could not have been less than 20,000, acting sometimes in bodies of 3000 or 4000; and the history of the campaign includes several petty reverses. Eventually, however, finding himself closely blockaded, Appa Sahib, with Cheetoo, who had joined him, made his way to Asseerghur. The *killadar*, Jeswant Rao, received Appa Sahib for a few days, but not Cheetoo. Appa Sahib took flight again shortly, disguised as a religious mendicant; was refused an asylum by Scindia; obtained one for awhile from Runjeet Singh,—then from the petty Raja of Mundee, beyond the first range of the Himalaya,—and eventually, it would seem, ended his days under the protection of the Raja of Jodhpore, under pledges of good behaviour: others say, that nothing certain is known to this day

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¹ Lutfullah, in a remarkable narrative, shows us just at this period (1818), a Bheel chief actually taking a party of Afghans into his employ as plunderers. See p. 105 and following.

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as to his existence. Thus ended the last real sovereign of Berar : the nominal ones subsisted somewhat longer, to be finally suppressed by Lord Dalhousie. Cheetoo was eaten by a tiger. Trimbakjee Danglia was eventually captured, and imprisoned for life in a fort. Asseerghur was now reduced. It was manned with guns of immense calibre, one of which, an iron gun carrying a ball of 384 lbs., was believed to have a range of fourteen miles. Jeswant Rao eventually surrendered on honourable terms ; the assailants having suffered a loss of 313 killed and wounded (9th May, 1818). Proofs were discovered of Scindia having intrigued with the Peshwa, as well as of his having directed Jeswant Rao not to surrender. No advantage, however, was taken of the discovery.

Thus ended the second (or third) Mahratta war,—the last great struggle carried on by the English against the Mahrattas as a nation. One by one all the Mahratta princes had been checked or subdued by force of arms. Yet it is difficult to repress the feeling, that the war, although commenced as against each particular chief by some aggression on his part, was yet rendered inevitable by the proceedings of the English. To assemble 100,000 men for the extirpation of 30,000 ill-armed freebooters, the operations having to be carried on in the heart of the Mahratta country, must have seemed, to each Mahratta prince, a direct threat against him. That there was no previous coalition on their part against us is clearly proved by the desultory nature of their proceedings, even when in presence of a common danger, they might try to combine.

Such as it was, however, the war was signalised by a series of most glorious feats of arms on the part of the British ; that is to say, in the main, of the native troops under British officers.

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The territorial results of the war were considerable. Besides the country set apart for the Raja of Sattara, 50,000 square miles of the Peshwa's dominions had been annexed. From Holkar were obtained various territories in Candeish, the Satpoora hills, and the Deckan. From Scindia were claimed back various districts usurped from the Peshwa ; and, by means of exchanges, the important province of Ajmeer, on the borders of Rajpootana, passed under British rule. The acquisitions from Nagpore comprised the eastern portion of the valley of the Nerbudda, extending north and east to the district of Saugur, recently annexed, and by the wild country spreading to Bengal and Orissa, which was also ceded, completing the communication with Bengal. Various convenient exchanges were also effected with the Nizam and the Guicowar, chiefly of intermixed territories.

It is satisfactory to add, that the states of the Raja of Nagpore and of Holkar, both minors under British guardianship, were eventually handed over to those sovereigns more prosperous than when first taken in hand. A considerable amount of order was also introduced into the territories of the feudal chiefs of Rajpootana, all of whom, including the distant Raja of Jessalmeer, bordering upon Sind, and the Raja of Oodipore, reckoned the first of Hindoo princes, who had never recognised a superior, Mahomedan or Mahratta, sought and obtained British

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protection. In Cutch the Rao had to be deposed, and his chief town, Bhooj, to be attacked and taken by escalade (1819); the principality being, by the new treaty which was concluded, placed solely under the protection of a British subsidiary force, and engagements being required for the suppression of the practice of female infanticide. A treaty was entered into with two of the Scinde Ameers, by which they bound themselves to prevent the incursions of marauders into the British territories (1820). Lastly, treaties were concluded with the petty Mahratta States of the Concan for the suppression of piracy, including in particular Colaba, still governed by a member of the Angria dynasty. Two expeditions were even sent to Arabia; the one to punish a piratical tribe, the other to avenge the maltreatment of a British agent at Mocha; and various missions and other transactions were sent or undertaken with reference to the States of eastern India and its islands. The Nizam-Vizier of Oude was allowed, or rather encouraged, to assume the title of king, and was recognised as such.

The spirit of Lord Hastings' administration, indeed, I believe to have been, in the main, very grand and noble. The extension of British influence was, with him, I have no doubt, essentially the extension of order and good government, the curbing of the lawless, the protection of the oppressed. The extinction of the Pindarrees was, beyond question, an immense boon to India, though recent events may well lead us to doubt the wisdom of weakening the Mahratta princes as he did. In his relations towards

native princes, moreover, he pursued a policy the very reverse of that of later Governors-General; removing obnoxious Residents, checking their meddlings, and endeavouring, as far as possible, to treat the protected princes with the consideration due to sovereignty. His administration was also marked by great activity in matters of civil legislation. Reforms were introduced into the civil and criminal courts, and an enlargement given to the powers of the native magistrates,—a jurisdiction, indeed, which was at first attempted to be too far extended.

Another momentous measure belongs to this period.

You will have observed, that in the record of the great military transactions of Lord Hastings' government, it is only the north, west, and centre of India that have come under notice. The south and east—the old seats of war in the days of Clive, and again of Hyder or Tippoo—are never mentioned. In these provinces, however, forming the Presidency of Madras, financial experiments had been carried on, of far more serious ultimate consequence to the welfare of the inhabitants than any battles. I speak of the "ryotwar" system of land revenue, finally established in Madras under Lord Hastings.

As I have before stated, the permanent, or zemindaree, system of land revenue established by Lord Cornwallis in the older ceded provinces, proceeded upon the principle, that the zemindars, or revenue-farmers, either were or should be made into the actual owners of the soil; and that, for the encouragement of agriculture and industry, assessments should be fixed. Half of

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this view was false, half true. The zemindars were not landowners ; there were other rights of property behind their own, which might be disregarded, trampled on ; but which only needed reviving. But it was true that a fixed assessment was most beneficial ; and accordingly, amidst much individual wrong and misery, there is no doubt that the permanent settlement worked well in some respects, for a time at least, for the prosperity of the country.

Now, in proportion as our tenure of the country became of older date,—as a higher sense of duty, as a more inquiring disposition of mind, as a greater familiarity with, or partiality for, the native languages and customs began to appear amongst the English invaders and administrators, the blunders of the zemindaree system became more evident to ourselves. There grew up a feeling—and a very right and true feeling—that the ryot, or cultivator, was to be more cared for and looked after than the zemindar ; though it was more difficult to get rid of the convenient Mussulman notion, that the sovereign by right of conquest was the sole real owner of the soil, and could assess it at his pleasure. Under the influence of these feelings, a small knot of earnest, benevolent, hard-working men—the first (in point of date) of whom was Captain Read, a Madras staff-officer, appointed head of a Revenue Commission in 1792, but of whom the most celebrated was one of his assistants, Lieutenant, afterwards General Sir Thomas Munro,—conceived the plan of settling the claims of the Government directly with the cultivator individually, to guard the latter from oppression, and

of thereby determining the rights of every man who paid a single rupee to the State ; such settlements to be annual. Such an idea, it will be seen, is entirely opposed to that of the zemindaree system. *That* is essentially aristocratic. Raise up, it said, above all things, a body of independent landowners ; leave the cultivators to them. *This* is essentially autocratic. It takes account of the State, it takes account of the people ; it ignores all between. I do not wish to say one word against the purity of motives of the founders of the ryotwar system. I know nothing nobler than these words of Sir Thomas Munro on our Indian policy :

“ There is one great question to which we should look in all our arrangements—What is to be their final result on the character of the people ? Is it to be raised, or is it to be lowered ? Are we to be satisfied with merely securing our power, and protecting the inhabitants, leaving them to sink gradually in character lower than at present ? or are we to endeavour to raise their character ? It ought, undoubtedly, to be our aim to raise the minds of the natives, and to take care that whenever our connexion with India cease, it did not appear that the only fruit of our dominion had been, to leave the people more abject and less able to govern themselves than when we found them. *It would certainly be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether, than that the result of our system of government should be such an abasement of a whole people.*”

Yet I believe that the system of finance with which Sir Thomas Munro's name is inseparably connected, has worked, more deeply than all other causes put together, to “ abase ” the whole population which was made subject to it ; to render the natives “ more abject, and less able to govern themselves.” For, like Lord Wellesley's plan of protection and subsidiary alliances, it had this one fault ; that it ignored human nature.

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Very fascinating, indeed, was the thought of taking account, year by year, of the cultivator's circumstances, asking no more of him but precisely what he could afford at the particular time. True ; but it presupposes only these few little things :—1st. That the Government shall have at its disposal an unlimited number of angelic officials, perfectly familiar with the languages and customs of the country ; 2nd. That such angelic officials shall possess illimitable leisure, and should be capable of unerring punctuality in their movements ; 3rd. That to such angelic officials, of unlimited leisure and unerring punctuality, the whole revenue functions of the Government shall be confined.

For, mark. The settlement must be annual. It depends upon the crops of the year. Therefore, the cultivator cannot tell how much of his crop he is to have until the revenue officer has fixed the Government share. Suppose only, to take the lowest case, the revenue officer is not precisely punctual ; (and, for him to be so, he would require to be in fifty places at once)—what then ? Why, the crop must rot or wither on the ground, or *in* it, until he comes. Till then, it cannot be divided. I am not exaggerating. One cause of the mixture of Indian cotton with dirt and stones, its discolouration by heating—of which so much complaint was made some years ago by our manufacturers—is stated to have been this : that the cotton crop, instead of being gathered and sent off from field after field as it became ripe, had to be stored in large pits, pending the arrival of the collector : here it got heated, and gathered part at least of

its filth. The *ryotwar* system actually spoiled more than it took.

Still—so much in India depends upon personal character—wherever Munro, who was thoroughly acquainted with the language and manners of the natives—never required an interpreter in communicating with them, and was looked up to by them as a father—personally carried out the system, it seems to have temporarily worked well. But imagine the sole European officer entrusted with the taxation of a country generally as large as Scotland, and more peopled, attempting, by any amount of personal labour and locomotion, to settle all the details of the assessment of every single holding in every parish of that area,—such assessment to amount to forty-five per cent. of the gross produce! Mr. Rickards, himself formerly an Indian civilian and collector, has exposed, once and for ever, the futility of this system, aggravated by the minuteness of detail into which it was expected to be carried. It will hardly be credited, that the official instructions to assessors direct them not to tax waste lands too low, lest the ryots should throw up cultivation, “to the injury of the revenue.” No wise injunctions against over-assessment can ever outweigh the damning testimony of such a regulation. What farmer ever lets his land go to waste, so long as he knows how to make a profit of it? How different the conduct of that Mussulman oppressor, the Nizam, who allows six years’ exemption from taxes to the first cultivator of waste land!

It was not, indeed, till after many struggles and vicissitudes, that *ryotwarree* was finally

PART II. established. There were not wanting, among
History. Indian officials, those who vigorously combated
 LECT. XI. it. The Madras Board of Revenue thus described
 its first introduction :

“We find a small band of foreign conquerors no sooner obtaining possession of a vast extent of territory, peopled by various nations differing from each other in language, customs, and habits, than they attempt what would be deemed a herculean task, or rather a visionary project, even in the most civilised countries of Europe . . . viz., to fix a land rent, not on each province, district, or country, not on each estate or farm, but on every separate field within their dominions . . . We find them unintentionally dissolving the ancient ties, the ancient usages which united the republic of each Hindoo village, and by a kind of agrarian law, newly assessing and parcelling out the lands which from time immemorial had belonged to the village community collectively, not only among the individual members of the privileged orders . . . but even among their inferior tenantry . . . ; we observe them ignorantly denying, and by their denial abolishing private property in the land,—resuming what belonged to a public body . . . and conferring, in lieu of it, a stipend in money on one individual,—professing to limit their demand on each field, but in fact, by establishing for such limit an unattainable maximum, assessing the ryot at discretion ; and, like the Mussulman Government which preceded them, binding the ryot by force to the plough, compelling him to till land acknowledged to be over-assessed, dragging him back to it if he absconded, deferring their demand upon him till his crop came to maturity, then taking from him all that could be obtained, and leaving to him nothing but his bullocks and his seed grain,—nay, perhaps obliged to supply him even with these in order to renew his melancholy task of cultivating, not for himself, but for them.”

But there is no country like India for a man with a crotchet. By dint of sufficient obstinacy, he can always carry it out. No officials in the world have greater temptations to sacrifice everything for the sake of a quiet life, than the Indian ones. The climate is enervating ; they have no permanent connexion with the country, no abid-

ing incentive to activity. Be he never so blunder-headed, the civilian can make sure of his 1000*l.* a year pension, by simply living on without committing actual delinquency. Why, unless from higher motives than any which constitute the ordinary springs of Government, should he trouble himself to do the right, and fight the wrong? Plague and worry him enough, and you will generally carry your point. Still, to the credit be it said of the Madras officials, ryotwarree was finally forced upon them. Sir Thomas Munro had to go to England before he could get his views carried out. He was able, enthusiastic, a friend and correspondent of the Duke of Wellington; he enforced his views in England by personal advocacy; and, at last, instructions were received at Madras, towards the end of 1817, for the carrying out, wherever practicable, of the plan of ryotwar settlement, with individual holders. Various improvements were, indeed, to be introduced. The native revenue officials were to be deprived of the power to punish and confine. Labour was to be free; proprietary rights were to be recognised, and such a rate of assessment fixed as would "give encouragement to agricultural industry, and thereby promote the general prosperity of the country." So, in the spring of 1820, the ryotwar system was formally put in vigour in Madras.

And what has been the result? That improvement by the tenant has proved so impracticable, that Sir Thomas Munro in 1821, and Lord Elphinstone twenty years afterwards, acknowledged that there was no means of bringing more land under cultivation, and so increasing the revenue,

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except by reducing the assessment. In 1856, finally, Lord Harris, in a public paper, stated that the area of cultivation in the Madras Presidency was only one-fifth of the whole, with no tendency to increase. Imagine the condition of this country, if, with vast masses of land as fertile as any in the world lying idle, the land-tax was so high that it was worth no one's while to break up a fresh sod !

What, indeed, adds to the peculiar atrocity of the ryotwar system is, that it was put in force in some of those provinces in which the old Hindoo system remained in most perfect vigour ; in which the right of property in land was recognised from time immemorial,—Malabar, for instance, the latest conquest of the Mussulmans. It was in these countries, with perfectly organised village communities, with customs of unknown antiquity, including that of granting leases of waste land rent free for twelve years, with a tenant-right of compensation for improvements at the end of that period,—that the ryotwar collector appeared, asserting the right of the Company as sole owner of the land, treating with each cultivator separately, in defiance of his mutual relations with the other members of the same community ; careful not to assess waste lands too lightly, lest cultivation should be abandoned ! Who was the barbarian ? the native who, perhaps, 4,000 years ago, sought to reward cultivation by freedom from rent and compensation for improvements,—or the Englishman who sought to enforce it by taxing waste lands up to intimidation point ? Why is cultivation to be a curse under English rule, when it was a boon

under Hindoo? Who can wonder that insurrections, produced by sheer over-assessment, should have broken out in the Madras territories?¹

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The final establishment of the ryotwar system in the Madras Presidency belongs to the period of Lord Hastings' administration, but the curse of it is in nowise attributable to him. He never saw it at work, and in his tour through Upper India, in 1815, he was able to record his views of the improvement of the Bengal Presidency. Wages of agricultural labour were higher; cities were increasing; money was freely invested in permanent improvements; there was no emigration, but, on the contrary, many old cultivators returned to till the soil. Before fixing the revenue system of the conquered and ceded districts, in particular, it was directed that a careful investigation should be made into the real condition of the holding of land, and a commission was appointed for the purpose (1822). The result of the measures thus taken belongs to a future period.

Some very unscrupulous measures, to say the least, in customs' legislation belong, however, also to this period. In the first place, the manufactures of India were, it may be said, deliberately ruined by a general lowering or total abolition of import duties on articles the produce

¹ The ryotwar system has also been established, in a somewhat modified form, in the Bombay Presidency—Mr. Elphinstone vainly struggling as long as he could against its introduction. I cannot help regretting that in Taylor and Mackenna's "India" (see p. 541), the Madras system is treated as more beneficial than that of the Lower Provinces. Both are bad enough, but the depths of misery produced by the Madras ryotwarree are surely reached nowhere else.

PART II. or manufacture of Great Britain, without any
History. reciprocal advantages being given to Indian
 LECT. XI. produce or manufactures when brought home.

Next,—inasmuch as the sale of opium, a Government monopoly in Bengal and Behar, was greatly impeded by the competition of free-grown opium from the native States of Malwa, prohibitory duties were imposed at all the Presidencies, on all imported opium not being the produce of Bengal and Behar, and the native princes of Malwa were actually induced, in many instances, to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy in their own dominions, for British behoof, — being suitably bribed for thus ruining many of their subjects.

During Lord Hastings' administration, the first Protestant episcopal see was established in India, Dr. Middleton being appointed Bishop of Calcutta. Not the slightest excitement was produced amongst the natives, though much had been predicted, by his arrival; the Brahmins, in some cases, viewing him only as the English head-Brahmin, and applying to him for his patronage with Government in behalf of their ruinous temples. A considerable impulse was also given to Christian missions; but so little were they countenanced by Government that, as we have lately learnt, a Brahmin sepoy was at this time (1819-20) actually ejected from his regiment, on the sole ground of his having become a convert to Christianity.

Grants began to be made for education at the three Presidencies; a limited freedom of the press was tried, the censorship hitherto existing being abolished; but the editors of newspapers

were restricted from animadverting on the proceedings of the Indian authorities, under pain of being proceeded against as the Governor-General might think fit.

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Lord Hastings left India after a ten years' rule, in January, 1823. The country, as a whole, undoubtedly flourished. The revenue had risen from 17,228,000*l.* to 23,120,000*l.*, and this increase of six millions offered a clear surplus of three millions of receipts over expenditure, including interest on the public debt.

LECTURE XII.

THE FIRST FOREIGN WAR.

LORD AMHERST (1823-1828).

Mr. John Adam—Palmer's House and the Nizam—Expulsion of Mr. Buckingham—Lord Amherst—The Burmese—The Mug Emigration—Their Inroads from Chittagong into the Burmese Territory—Khyen Bran—Charipo—Burmese Complaints—Proceedings in Assam, Jyntia, Manipore, Kachar—Burmese Hostilities—War resolved upon—The Barrackpore Mutiny—Mismanagement of the War, and Mortality—Burmese Skill as respects Stockades and Intrenchments—Invulnerables—Amazons—The Prince of Sunset, and his Fate—Treaty of Yandaboo; Cession of Aracan and the Tenasserim, &c.—Indian Discontents—The Second Siege, and Taking of Bhurtpore—Treaty with Kolapore—Lord Amherst's Tour—Deaths of the King of Oude and Scindia—Internal Measures—The Suppression of Suttee considered.

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LECT. XII. LORD HASTINGS was temporarily succeeded in the supreme government by Mr. John Adam, senior member of Council. His short administration (11th January to 11th August, 1823) was marked by two events, the ruin of a mercantile house, and the expulsion of a newspaper editor.

One of the great mercantile names of India was that of Palmer and Co., of Hyderabad. Through the bank which they had established there, and which was largely supported by the deposits of the Company's servants, they had, contrary, as it was argued (and it would seem

justly), to an Act of 1797, which forbade all pecuniary transactions with native princes, not sanctioned by authority, had dealings with Chundoo Lall, minister of the Nizam, to the amount of more than 700,000*l*. They were specifically empowered, at the opening of the Pindarree war, to lend more money to the Nizam, to enable him to send his stipulated contingents to the war. Eventually all their claims upon the Nizam, to the amount of 600,000*l*. for principal and interest, were capitalised upon mortgage of revenues, Palmer appointing his own collectors; and the arrangement, though not thoroughly understood at the time, and represented as a new loan, was only sanctioned in the Supreme Council by the casting vote of the Governor-General.

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Lord Hastings drew upon himself much obloquy with a portion of the community by this measure, and Mr. Adam disallowed, as fraudulent and usurious, Messrs. Palmer's arrangements with the Nizam, to whom the mortgaged revenues were ordered to be restored, without making any reservation but for payment of principal only. Palmer's house was ruined, as well as a large body of its constituents, and the monetary crisis which was thus produced is still fresh in the memory of old Indians.

Again, Mr. Silk Buckingham, afterwards member for Sheffield, then editor of the Calcutta Journal, was expelled for making merry over the appointment of a Scotch Kirk minister, as clerk to the Committee of Stationery,—the comment, indeed, being made in the teeth of a warning, that under the late regulations he was not to

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reflect upon Government proceedings. Mr. Buckingham had the credit of having been the first to establish an Indian journal worthy of the name, and the stupidity of his persecution supplied him with good political capital on his return.

Whilst these things were going on in India, the Governor-Generalship was, at home, conferred upon Mr. Canning in the first instance, but was resigned by him, and was given by ministerial influence to Lord Amherst, in preference to Lord William Bentinck, who had, as we have seen, been Governor of Madras at the time of the Vellore mutiny, and was then most unjustly recalled.

On his arrival at Calcutta, Lord Amherst found a foreign war impending—the first Burmese war,—the first war undertaken by the Indian Government out of its own territory, but with reference to Indian policy only.

The Burmese had pushed their conquests to the north and east, from about the time of the rise of the British rule in India. The State of Aracan, stretching southwards from nearly the top of the Bay of Bengal down the coast, and bordering on the British province of Chittagong, had been subjugated by them. There is much intermixture of the Burmese and Hindoo races in these provinces, and it would seem that the mixed race in Aracan are termed Mugs. The Burmese conquerors were cruel. Emigrations of Mugs took place to the British territories, to the number of thousands, in 1797 and 1798.¹ They were at

¹ This Mug immigration is worthy of remark. I know of no other instance of immigration on a large scale into British territory in India.

first sought to be kept out ; a large body refused to return, saying that they would rather be slaughtered at once than return. Not less than 10,000 "rushed to the frontier" towards the end of 1798, and the number of immigrants went on increasing, till more than two-thirds of the Mugs left Aracan ; the capital being nearly depopulated, whilst the road was "strewed with the bodies" of the old, and of women with infants at the breast, and hundreds found no subsistence but on leaves and reptiles. The British Government determined to settle them upon some large tracts of waste land in Chittagong, and employed Captain Hiram Cox, who had been on a mission to Ava, for the purpose. The Burmese first sent letters to demand the fugitives, then pursued them into Chittagong, stockaded themselves, repelled an attack by British sepoy (1799), and withdrew at last of their own accord. There were by this time, Captain Cox reported, between 30,000 and 40,000 emigrants in the province, of whom he settled more than 10,000 in the assigned district. Various missions took place to and fro on the subject, the Burmese never abandoning their claim for the restoration of the Mugs, till at last they were supplied with an awkward plea for hostilities.

For the Mug Jeshurun, waxing fat, began to kick. The more adventurous from those settled at Chittagong, seemed to have conceived the idea of avenging the wrongs of their countrymen. One Khyen Bran gathered a band around him, and began plundering Aracan (1811). The Burmese retaliated by inroads into the Company's territory, sent a mission to Calcutta, pro-

PART II. fessedly to buy sacred books at Benares, but
History. really to form a confederacy of native powers for
 LECT. XII. the expulsion of the English (1813), openly
 threatened war if the Mug "slaves" were not
 restored (1816). Khyen Bran meanwhile had
 died (1815), but had left his mantle to another
 warlike Mug, Charipo, who, in spite of a pro-
 clamations by the chief magistrate of Chittagong
 that the emigrants, if guilty of depredations,
 would be handed over to the Aracan authorities,
 committed a desperate robbery beyond the
 British frontier (1817). He was seized, and the
 magistrate of Chittagong recommended his being
 delivered to the Burmese ; but the matter having
 been carried before the Council, in the absence
 of Lord Hastings, that body decided against
 doing so, on the ground of the cruel treatment to
 which the prisoners would, no doubt, be exposed.
 Charipo was tried by the Mahommedan law,
 still in force in the country, though the popula-
 tion was nearly all Hindoo, and acquitted for
 want of strict legal evidence, although his guilt
 was notorious.

The Burmese were, of course, little satisfied,
 and the next year (1818) claimed openly,
 through the son of the Raja of Ramree, governor
 of their frontier provinces, the restoration of the
 territories of Chittagong and Dacca, Moorshe-
 dabad, and Cossimbazar, as not belonging to India,
 threatening to "destroy the country" if these
 provinces were not restored.¹ Lord Hastings
 treated the claim as unauthorised, and sent back
 the letter containing it to the Viceroy of Pegu.

¹ It seems that at one time the frontier districts of Bengal
 had paid tribute to Aracan.

Nothing further of moment occurred between the two Governments till the year 1823. But meanwhile, the Burmese, through interfering in the affairs of Assam, on our north-eastern frontier, had annexed it (1821), and coming thereby on a new line of frontier in contact with ourselves, complaints had arisen on our part of robberies and kidnappings from their borders. Farther to the east, they had also acquired supremacy over the small principality of Muni-pore, at one time in alliance with the British, had called upon the Raja of Jyntia, another petty prince, who was regarded as a feudatory of Bengal, to submit to them, and had only been forestalled in the principality of Kachar, bordering upon our province of Sylhet, by our taking it under our protection.

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It was under these circumstances that, towards the close of 1823, hostilities broke out at once on the Sylhet and the Chittagong frontier. A sudden attack took place by the Burmese on an island at the mouth of the Náf, an inlet of the sea which divides Chittagong from Aracan, and the station of a small guard chiefly intended to check the raids of the Mugs. It was easily overpowered, and the island taken possession of with some loss of life. The commanding officer and part of the crew of a Company's cruiser, were arrested by the Burmese. They invaded Kachar, then Sylhet, and took up a position within five miles of the capital, and 226 from Calcutta. The troops opposed to them were insufficient in number; and although the English obtained some advantages, they were more than compensated by a failure, under Colonel Bowen,

PART II. before a stockaded position, with a loss of 155
History. killed and wounded.

LECT. XII. It is said that the Burmese, "from the king to the beggar," were "hot for a war with the English." "The English," they said, "are the inhabitants of a small far-off island. What business have they to come in ships from so great a distance, to dethrone kings, and take possession of countries they have no right to? They contrive to conquer and govern the black foreigners—the people of castes, who have puny frames and no courage. They have never yet fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmese, skilled in the use of the sword and spear. If they once fight with us, and we show our bravery, it will be an example to the black nations who are now slaves to the English, and will encourage them to throw off the yoke."

It was resolved, then, on both sides, to make war. Nothing was known by the English of the interior of the country. The plan fixed upon was to send an expedition by sea to Rangoon, the great commercial city of the empire, at the mouth of the Irrawaddee; if the seizure of this should not be sufficient to secure a peace, then to ascend the river to the capital of Ava, Ameerapoor, 600 miles up; a second army then marching overland.

It is not my intention to give the history in detail of this war,—the first foreign war, as I have said, properly so called, ever undertaken by the Company's Government, though there had been several detached expeditions on various occasions,—to Egypt, to the Persian Gulf, to Java, to the Isle of France, &c. A great difficulty always arising out of every such under-

taking is that of overcoming the repugnance of the sepoys to it. To cross the sea or the Indus is reckoned against caste; and, in the case of a sea-voyage in particular, the difficulty of keeping up their religious observances is very great. This weighs particularly with the Bengal sepoys—men of higher caste, and who are expected in great measure to serve as an example to the others. As Colonel Sykes well pointed out lately in a letter to the *Times*, whilst caste defilements by contact only are remissible, such as result from the eating of unhallowed food are beyond remission. When the taking of Rangoon was found not to have subdued the Burmese, and a second advance by way of Aracan became necessary, other difficulties arose out of these. The Bengal sepoys, objecting to go by sea, were to march round by Chittagong: but the commissariat had nearly swept Bengal of all its draught bullocks, and the sepoys, who provide the means of conveyance for their own baggage, could find none except at ruinous prices. They were, moreover, in dread of the Burmese, as reputed magicians, with the power of rendering themselves invulnerable; and, to cap their discontent, they found that the low-caste camp-followers, who were scarcely to be had for the service, were paid at a higher rate than themselves. The chief military officers were military martinets, and insisted upon unqualified submission to orders. The men bound themselves by oath not to march, unless upon higher pay and with the means of carriage supplied. A recent remodelling of the army had separated most of the officers from their old corps; and in the 47th Regiment, in particular, scarcely any of

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PART II. the officers had been with it for more than a few
History. months. On the 11th November, at Barrack-
LECT. XII. pore, it was ordered to parade in marching order.
Not more than one-third obeyed. The next day
the mutineers were joined by small parties from
two other regiments. They used no violence;
praying to be dismissed, as they deemed it im-
possible to proceed otherwise than by sea, and
could not do this without loss of caste. When
we consider the value which these men have
always (until now) attached to the service, and
to the pension which they look forward to on
withdrawing from it, we see clearly that they
could not give a more conclusive proof of their
sincerity, of the absence in them of any feeling
really deserving to be called mutinous. They
were expostulated with without success. Then
the artillery opened upon them. They broke and
fled. The cavalry charged them, the infantry
fired upon them in their flight, a number of them
being killed, both by the fire and by drowning
in attempting to cross the river. So little were
they prepared for actual resistance, that of
the many muskets left on the field, scarcely one
was loaded, though the men had been served out
forty rounds of ammunition each. Many of the
mutineers were taken prisoners; the ringleaders
hanged, others condemned to hard labour in irons.
Thus the Barrackpore mutiny was suppressed.
But a letter in the *Times* lately told us the re-
markable fact of various articles used by a Brah-
min hanged on this occasion having been treasured
up to the day of the mutinies of 1857 in the
regiment. And when those last mutinies broke
out, we learn no more that the sepoys were to

be found with unloaded muskets. Let us speak out. The Barrackpore mutiny had its origin in a total want of consideration for the feelings, for the needs of the sepoys. It was quelled by a brutal butchery.

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LECT. XII.

The Burmese war lasted two years. The conduct of it was full of blunders. Although we were received with cordiality by the people of the country, who had been treated with extreme cruelty by the Burmese, our forces suffered cruelly for want of provisions, and from disease. Salt provisions already putrescent, old biscuit which rapidly got mouldy in that damp climate, were their food; the Burmese skilfully aggravating their sufferings by a blockade, and the avoidance of a pitched battle. The worst fate was that of the particular expedition out of which the Barrackpore mutiny arose. The troops had to advance through Aracan, a marshy country, now celebrated for the abundance and quality of its rice. By the end of the rainy season, a fourth of the men had died, and more than half the survivors were in hospital. The town of Aracan, in particular, where the troops were stationed, is built on posts over a swamp overflowed at high tide by a muddy river, buried among hills, and surrounded on all sides by jungle and morass. In situations like these, I have it from an eye-witness and a sufferer, that the grass actually grew underneath a bed in a tent. Dysentery, and a peculiar marsh fever called the Aracan fever, made these fearful ravages among them. In two regiments, numbering together 1,004 men, 595 died in the country in eight months; and of those who quitted it, not more than half were alive at

PART II. the end of twelve months. Even the Walcheren
History. expedition was outdone.

LECT. XII. The peculiarity of the Burmese in warfare was
their skill, not only in constructing stockades,—
in this the Nepaulese might equal them,—but in
intrenching themselves. A hoe or spade, it is
said, was as essential a part of the soldier's
equipment, as his musket and sabre. Each man,
as he advanced, dug a hole to fire from,—the
prototypes, as it were, of those rifle-pits of which
we heard so much in the Crimea. The stockades,
which varied in strength and construction ac-
cording to the materials and time at hand, were
sometimes made of solid beams of teak prepared
for the purpose, sometimes of green bamboos and
young trees newly cut, which were planted close
together in the ground, and bound by transverse
beams at the top, leaving loop-holes to fire from.
Within these stockades, rising from ten to twenty
feet in height, platforms or embankments were
formed to overtop the paling, and for the planting
of gingals or guns of small calibre. They were
sometimes strengthened by ditches, outside or
in, and by smaller outside stockades or abattis.
Forming no solid mass, they were little injured by
cannon-balls, though more by shells, and had gene-
rally to be carried by the personal pluck of the
soldier. The stockade once forced, the Burmese,
unlike the Goorkhas, generally took to flight;
though sometimes also they resisted fiercely,
taking no quarter. Their skill in intrenching
themselves was such that on one occasion, when
they surrounded the British army, it is reported
that their line wholly disappeared within two
hours, leaving only a parapet of new earth, gra-

dually rising in height, to mask it, till at last the gilt umbrella of a chief, directing the works, was the only thing to be seen; and the whole seemed the work of enchantment. The holes they made on this occasion were capable of holding two men each, under shelter, so that even a shell lighting in them could only kill that number. In each was a supply of rice, water, and fuel, and a bed of straw or brushwood for one to sleep while the other watched. The line of trenches thus formed is pushed forward during the night as often as may be deemed expedient. Fire-rafts, made of bamboos fixed together, and inclosing at intervals earthen jars filled with petroleum and cotton, besides other inflammable substances, were a means of offence employed by them on the water, and the flame they produced was said to be almost inextinguishable. The rafts were sometimes one hundred feet long, divided into pieces, and moving upon hinges, so flexible, that when they once caught, the current would sweep them round the ship in a coil of fire.

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Nor were there wanting to the war many romantic and picturesque incidents. The Burmese king's "Invulnerables" would come out, crop-haired warriors, with figures of wild animals tattooed upon their skin, pieces of gold, silver, or gems inserted in their arms, and would dance the war-dance in the most exposed part of the defences. Female warriors mingled with the men. One of them, the young wife of the Governor of Rangoon, exhibited extraordinary courage both in the fight, and in the agony of her death-wound. Latterly, the tributary Shan tribes bordering upon China made

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their appearance, accompanied by three "young and handsome women of high rank," who were supposed to make bullets harmless "by sprinkling them with enchanted water as they passed through the air," and who rode constantly among the troops, encouraging them. The last action of the war was commanded by a chief called the "Prince of Sunset," who had boasted that he would extirpate "the rebellious strangers." His 16,000 men were, however, worsted by 2,000, and only 1,300 returned to Ava. The adventurer presented himself before the king, and asked for 1,000 more men to defeat the invaders. The king listened to him patiently, and then made a sign with his spear to the attendants. The "Prince of Sunset" was hurried, amidst every indignity, to execution. On losing sight of the imperial palace, he turned round, bending his head: "Let me make one last obeisance before my sovereign's palace." He was trampled to death by horses and elephants. This is not so fine as the Puritan, whose hand was chopped off for religion's sake, in the days of Queen Bess, tossing up the chopped hand with the other, and crying "Long live the Queen;" but it is fine nevertheless.

In the early part of the war, there were several reverses sustained by the British forces, not without severe loss, which created great terror among the sepoys. One of these checks, received within the British territory, in an invasion of Chittagong by the chief Burmese general, Maha Bandoola (killed during the war), who went, provided with golden fetters, to bring the Governor-General back a captive to Ava,

spread alarm to Calcutta itself. Fortunately, however, the Burmese did not press on, the rains set in, and by the time that English reinforcements had arrived, the Burmese general was recalled by the occupation of Rangoon,—a measure judiciously planned, though executed with very little foresight. Eventually, in spite of enchantments and -“Invulnerables,” and Amazons and Shans, and “Princes of Sunset,” the British forces were felt to be the stronger; and when the army was within forty-five miles of Ameerapoor, the Burmese king was ready for peace on any terms, and signed, with the “peacock” seal of state, the treaty of Yandaboo (24th February, 1826), by which he gave up all claims over Assam, Jyntia, and Kachar, recognised the independence of Munipore; ceded in perpetuity Aracan to the north, and the Tenasserim coast to the south, and agreed to receive a Resident, conclude a commercial treaty, and pay about 1,000,000*l.* sterling for war expenses. The English evacuated his territory, and on their march back had the mortification of finding that routes, supposed to be impracticable, were perfectly easy of transit, and that the fearful mortality of Aracan might have been avoided. It may be stated at once that the acquisitions from Burmah, though of little value at the time, have proved of considerable importance. The growth of the tea-plant is carried on on a large scale in Assam. Aracan is the rice granary of the whole surrounding country, and the Tenasserim, reckoned extremely healthy, gives the means of an advantageous trade with Siam and Eastern India. Its capital, Moul-

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mein, from a cluster of wretched huts in 1826, has grown to a flourishing town of 50,000 inhabitants. But the immediate effect of the war, its blunders, its enormous expense, and the fearful amount of suffering and mortality to which it had given rise, was to produce a strong feeling against Lord Amherst.

During the Burmese war there had been a good deal of uneasiness and discontent in India. Old robber chiefs, daunted for a time by the strong measures of Lord Hastings, were longing to be again at their forays. The land-assessment had taken place at a time when grain was at famine price, both through the requirements of large bodies of troops and by the wasted condition of much cultivable land. Prices had greatly fallen with peace and the extension of cultivation, without the assessment being diminished. In the North-west no definite system of assessment had ever yet been come to. In the course of 1824, as we are told by an Indian civilian, pre-eminent for his outspokenness on Indian abuses, the Hon. Frederick Shore, there was scarcely a district, especially in the Upper Provinces, in which more or less of disaffection did not show itself. This was increased by rumours of checks from the Burmese, which produced an extraordinary sensation, and by the evident drain of troops from India proper, occasioned by this foreign war. Our immediate downfall was expected. A number of trifling disturbances took place, both in protected States and within British territory. Robber chiefs established themselves in mud forts, called themselves rajas, and levied contributions. A Hindoo

religious mendicant appeared as Vishnoo's last avatar, to expel the foreigners. Refractory zemindars tried to seize public treasure. Wild tribes returned to habits of plunder. Resistance, on the plea of adoption by the last holder, was offered to the resumption of jagheers. The Raja of Kolapore, a petty Mahratta state in Beejapore, could not be kept from plundering his neighbours. Some of the Cutch chiefs, at the head of 2,000 men, addressed the Resident, saying that they would be his servants if he would restore the deposed Rao; and these last movements acquired some importance from being encouraged by the Ameers of Sind. At last an opportunity was afforded of striking awe by a decisive blow.

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The whole forces of Lake, we may recollect, had failed before Bhurtpore. It was considered quite impregnable, and looked upon with a sort of superstitious veneration, even in the distant Carnatic. India was not yet conquered, it was said; for Bhurtpore had not been taken. There was a strong, daring, anti-English party in Bhurtpore itself. Still, the rajas looked for British protection, and observed faithfully the treaty of 1805. The new Raja, Baldeo Sing, was an old man, childless hitherto, but with an active enterprising nephew, Durjan Sal, for heir apparent. A son was born to the Raja, and he, anxious to secure for the boy the early protection of the English, obtained from the Delhi Resident, Sir D. Ochterlony, his investiture with a khelat, or dress of honour (1824). A year later he died; leaving the boy, Bulwant Sing, only in his sixth year. In a month, Durjan

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Sal had usurped the regency, killed the infant's guardian, taken possession of his person. Sir D. Ochterlony issued a proclamation to the Jâts, not to obey the usurper, and assembled a British force to put him down (July, 1825). Lord Amherst had then the Burmese war upon his hands. He bade Sir David abstain from interference. The old soldier resigned, and died in a few days, partly, no doubt, of mortification (15th July, 1825). But his successor, Sir C. Metcalfe, recommended the same policy; Durjan Sal having thrown off the mask, and openly disdained sovereignty. After unavailing remonstrances, a force was put in motion, under Lord Combermere, Commander-in-Chief, consisting of above 27,000 men, including irregulars; with, in all, 162 guns and mortars. Hostilities commenced on the 10th December, 1825.

The city stands in a plain, surrounded by forest. A wide and deep ditch could be flooded from a piece of water at a little distance by cutting through an embankment; and this had been done at the time of Lord Lake's siege. A column sent in advance fortunately came up just as the embankment was being sluiced, drove off the Jâts, and repaired the embankment, so that the ditch remained dry, except in a few patches. The walls, of dried clay, were thick and lofty, flanked by thirty-five tower bastions, and above five miles in circumference,—too wide a circuit to be completely invested. Lord Combermere offered a safe conduct to women and children, with twenty-four hours—afterwards extended to thirty-six, for the purpose. But the Jâts did not avail themselves

of the offer. On the 24th, the batteries were opened. But the mud walls crumbled without breaking. The shot mostly remained embedded. What breaches were made were impracticable, being composed only of earth ground to powder, in which the foot sank at every step. By the advice, some say of Lieut.-Colonel Forbes,—some, of Major-General Galloway,—mines were tried. Two breaches were thus formed; one of them by a mine containing 10,000 lbs. of gunpowder, which in its explosion killed and wounded several of our own men, and 300 of the enemy. Notwithstanding a generally brave resistance, the rampart was carried in two hours: the citadel surrendered the same day (January 18th, 1826). About 8000 of the Jâts were slain; the total amount of killed and wounded being reckoned at 14,000, while the loss of the victors did not exceed 200. Durjan Sal, with his wife and two sons, was taken, and sent a prisoner to Allahabad. The fortifications were demolished, including the "Bastion of Victory," built, the Jâts boasted, with the bones and blood of the British soldiers killed in 1805, when Bhurtpore had stopped Lake's victorious army for 109 days, and had cost us 3000 men in killed and wounded. The young Raja was reinstated, Lord Combermere was made a Viscount, and Lord Amherst a Viscount and Earl; the prize-money being distributed to the army.

The only other military event of Lord Amherst's government was the final coercion of the Raja of Kolapore, who, in the beginning of 1827, had to enter into a new treaty, binding him not to maintain more troops than 400

PART II. horse and 800 foot, and placing him in other
History. respects entirely under British control.

LECT. XII. A tour of the Governor-General, through the
upper provinces, 1826-7, served to exhibit the
extent of British influence. The King of Oude
personally visited him at Cawnpore, and received
a return visit at Lucknow. The petty chiefs of
Bundelcund paid their respects in person at
Cawnpore; those of Malwa, at Agra, whither
Holkar and Scindia sent missions. At Delhi
appeared the envoys of the Rajpoot States; the
relations of the Governor-General with the
pageant King of Delhi were settled, and the
independence and protectorate of the British
Government towards him exhibited beyond the
possibility of mistake.

Two of the chief Indian princes died about
this period. Ghazee ud Deen, Hyder of Oude,
was probably the best ruler that country ever
had. The reports, prevalent at Calcutta, be-
cause flattering to our pride, of Oude misrule,
were under him, at least, shown to be greatly
exaggerated. Ghazee ud Deen, in his interview
with the Governor-General, was able to point to
the flourishing state of his country, as proof that
he needed no foreign interference. No com-
plaints of over-assessment were to be heard;
the country was a perfect garden, equal to the
best-cultivated districts under the Company's
rule: cavalry knew not where to alight without
injury to the crops. Ghazee ud Deen, though
indolent and intemperate, was a man of kind
feelings and cultivated tastes, and had compiled
and printed at his expense a large Arabic and
Persian dictionary, in six folio volumes, of

which copies were presented to the chief public libraries both in Europe and India. He died in October, 1827. Dowlut Rao Scindia had preceded him by a few months (March, 1827). He had lived to see himself, from being the greatest prince in India, and virtual sovereign of the greatest part of Hindostan, transformed into a British dependent; and confided, latterly, in British protection. The resident, Major Stuart, says of him, that "his temper was mild and gentle in the extreme, though his courage was never doubted;" and that he was accompanied to the funeral pile by the tears of his subjects. He left no sons; but the adoption of a child was sanctioned, under the regency of the Baiza Bâee, his favourite wife.

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The time for openly plundering native princes was gone with Warren Hastings. One observes, however, at this time, the extreme prevalence of the practice of obtaining loans from them. At the end of 1825, the King of Oude lends 1,000,000*l.* sterling; 500,000*l.* for two years the next year. The Baiza Bâee, after Scindia's decease, lent 800,000*l.* In the general loans which were contracted, we find smaller chiefs contributing their quota—the Raja of Nagpore 50,000*l.*, the Raja of Benares 20,000*l.*; even the unfortunate Bajee Rao, the ex-Peshwa, refunding a very considerable sum for the purpose out of the savings from his pension.

Lord Amherst's later years of government were chiefly occupied with measures of internal reform. The diffusion of education was greatly encouraged; the nomination of Professor Horace

PART II. Hayman Wilson as Visitor of the Hindoo College,
History. founded under Lord Hastings, giving a powerful
 LBCT. XII. impetus to the work. Finally, to his adminis-
 tration belongs the epoch of the first serious
 official examination of the propriety of suppress-
 ing the rite of suttee, or widow-burning.

It is now admitted that this rite is unknown, not only to the Vedas but to the Code of Menu, and belongs, consequently, to the later ages of Hindooism only. Still, it took deep root in the Hindoo mind ; and though undoubtedly, in many cases, it was performed under circumstances amounting to actual murder—the widow being stupefied with narcotics, or even compelled to enter the pile through the avidity of relatives—there is as little doubt that in other instances, and those far from unfrequent, it has been a genuine act of deliberate self-immolation, in which the victim has more than once given proof of her resolution to Englishmen who sought to dissuade her from carrying it out, by burning a finger before their sight.¹ The English first sought to deal with the rite (under Lord Minto, in 1810) by regulating its performance ; but this only gave it legal sanction, and its frequency steadily increased. Fourteen years later (1824), the Court of Directors recommended formally its suppression. An inquiry was instituted by Lord Amherst as to the expediency of such a measure ; but he finally came to the

¹ This incident, which occurs in a narrative of 1742-3, quoted by Mr. Kaye from Holwell's tracts, is to be found also in one given by Lutfullah, a writer still living, from his own experience.

conclusion that it should not be attempted. He was "not prepared to recommend an enactment prohibiting suttee altogether." He trusted to "the diffusion of knowledge" to extinguish it (1827).

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His successor attacked the evil with a bolder hand.

LECTURE XIII.

THE ERA OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK AND SIR CHARLES METCALFE.
(1828-1836).

Favourable Condition of India—No Enemies without or within—Retrenchments—Native Employment—Education: English to be the sole Medium of Instruction—Dr. Duff and the Missionary Schools—Abolition of Suttee—Measures against Infanticide—Vigorous Efforts for the Suppression of Thuggee—Lord William Bentinck's Journeys through the Provinces—The North-West—Rajpoot Resistance to the Sale Law—The Collector's Books the only Proof of Title—Revolutionary Mr. Robertson—Recognition of Property in the Soil—The Village System established—Its Results—Disturbances and Wars: Syed Ahmed, and the Baraset Riots—Various Causes of Musulman Disaffection at Delhi—Disturbances among the Wild Tribes—Mysore in Commission—Coorg annexed—Oude—Rajpootana: Murder of Mr. Blake—Treaties with Runjeet Sing and the Ameers of Scinde—The Supreme Court Feud in Bombay—The New Charter—Sir Charles Metcalfe—Freedom of the Press—Dixon in Mairwarra.

PART II. LORD AMHERST sailed for England early in
History. 1828, and was succeeded temporarily by Mr.
LECT. XIII. Butterworth Bayley, permanently by Lord Wil-
liam Bentinck.

We enter now upon what may be called the golden age of British Indian history. India was ruled by a governor at once able and energetic, fearless of obloquy and untrammelled by routine; as upright and as benevolent as Lord Cornwallis, but possessing over him the priceless

advantage of being already well acquainted with the country, and of having, moreover, acquired that acquaintance chiefly in its least prosperous Presidency, that of Madras, from the governorship of which, as we have seen, he had been unjustly recalled many years previously.

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He found, indeed, the rough work of war ready done to his hand. Abroad or at home, nothing threatened the British rule. Without, the encroaching Goorkhas had been driven back; the proud Burmese had been worsted. Runjeet Sing, the ruler of the Punjab, was too well aware of the weight of the British power not to avoid all occasion of offence; and the protection afforded to the Sikh States on the left bank of the Sutlej operated as a check on the otherwise formidable national unity of the Sikhs. The Ameers of Scinde, less able than he, were equally indisposed to enter into collision with us; former tributaries of the Afghan sovereigns, they would view us as their natural allies. Within, the Mahratta confederacy, the only possible rival to the British power on Indian soil, had been thoroughly broken up, its head deposed, its other members reduced to quasi-vassalage; whilst the smart of the wound thus inflicted on Mahratta pride had been soothed by the wise and politic measure recommended by Mr. Elphinstone, of restoring the descendant of Seevajee, the truest embodiment of Mahratta glory, to a qualified sovereignty. Bhurtpore the impregnable had been taken, the stain of Lord Lake's repulse wiped out, the cloud of superstitious hopes which clung to it blown away. Lastly, the organised marauding of the Pindarrees had been extin-

PART II. guished, and the work of reclaiming the plunder-
History. ing aboriginal tribes to order begun.

LECT. XIII. It is Lord William Bentinck's glory that he
 saw what was the righteous, Christian, English
 use to be made of such a state of things; that
 he did not rush into offensive wars, nor take
 umbrage at the further subsistence of native
 sovereignties on Indian soil, but applied himself
 resolutely to the great works of peace—economy,
 and administrative reform.

The former task, especially, was a hard one,
 as it always is. Indian finance had fallen, as it
 does periodically, into a state of great confusion.
 Lord Amherst, mild and gentlemanly, was by
 no means an efficient administrator. The late
 wars had dissipated Lord Hastings' surplus
 revenue. There was now a great annual de-
 ficiency, made all the heavier by the increasing
 charge of the public debt. Retrenchment must
 be the order of the day. Salaries had to be cut
 down, both civil and military. The strength of
 the army was greatly reduced. What, however,
 caused most discontent was the part suppression
 of a field allowance called *batta*, made to officers.
 Lord Hastings and Lord Amherst had both
 resisted the measure, but Lord William Bentinck
 had peremptory orders to carry it out. The
 saving effected (under 20,000*l.*) was probably
 not worth the trouble and irritation which it
 caused. The army never forgave Lord William.
 The bitter feeling which subsisted towards him,
 years afterwards, in the minds of some of the
 worthiest officers, was more than I could have
 believed possible, had I not seen it. Some
 further reductions were effected by the rendering

the separate government of Penang, with its dependencies of Malacca and Singapore, subordinate to Bengal. A stamp duty was imposed, and vehemently resisted. Counsel were heard for three days against the legality of the act, and meetings to petition against it took place, in spite of the Council's forbiddance. A considerable revenue was derived by a pass or licence duty on opium from the native States,—a creditable exchange, at least, for the monstrous plan of procuring its growth to be forbidden by the native princes, which Lord William Bentinck resolved finally to abandon.

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But there is one civil reform without which good and economical government in India is impossible—the admission of natives to office. This, too, Lord William Bentinck resolutely carried out, amidst much European opposition and prophesy of evil. Native civil judgeships were established (1829—1831), with comparatively liberal salaries, empowered to decide all original suits to the value of 500*l.*, and to receive appeals from inferior judges. But do not misjudge the extent of this innovation. Do you know how many native officers there were in Bengal a few years back, out of a population of forty millions, enjoying salaries of 360*l.* a year and upwards? 105. Do you know how many European officers there were within the same territory, enjoying salaries of 2,800*l.* a year and upwards? More than 120.¹ With these figures before us, it is

¹ I take the above figures from an admirable pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the Affairs of India, by a Friend of India," printed in 1852, the work of a retired Indian civilian, Mr. John Sullivan, late Member of Council in Madras. I

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quite clear that if we give "the blessings of English rule to the natives of India," we begin by taking a good share of them for ourselves.

Still, it must be granted that the free admission of natives to office is difficult, whilst so many gulfs subsist between them and us, of language, moral and intellectual training, religion. None ever saw this more clearly than Lord William Bentinck. As respects the first of these gulfs, none ever took so bold a step to bridge it over. The wholesome and generous impulse which of late years had led Englishmen to the study of Oriental literature, had been carried to excess. All the larger educational establishments supported by Government, except the Hindoo College at Calcutta, were Oriental in character; the students being taught only from Oriental books, and in the Oriental languages. The result of this was necessarily only to keep the native population at a distance from English feelings and sympathies. The Court of Directors at home became alive to the mischief, and, before the close of 1830, recommended European instruction for the natives. Lord William Bentinck went farther; and in a famous minute of

quote the passage as to European salaries, omitting the amounts in rupees:—

"There are in Bengal, open to the European service, exclusive of the members of Council, having each 10,000*l.* a year, 4 officers of from 6,000*l.* to 6,600*l.* a year; 23 from 4,000*l.* to 4,800*l.*; 17 from 3,000*l.* to 3,900*l.*; 78 from 2,000*l.* to 2,800*l.*; 6 of 1,900*l.*; 28 of 1,800*l.*; 1 of 1,600*l.*; 2 of 1,500*l.*; 3 of 1,400*l.*; 1 of 1,300*l.*; 71 of 1,200*l.*; 3 of 1,000*l.*; 4 of 900*l.*; 41 of 800*l.*; 17 of 700*l.*; 22 of 600*l.* At Madras, 1 of 5,000*l.*; 12 of from 4,000*l.* to 4,900*l.*; 83 from 2,000*l.* to 3,000*l.*; 22 from 2,000*l.* to 2,900*l.*; 2 of 1,800*l.*; 1 of 1,700*l.*; 17 of 1,400*l.*; 1 of 1,300*l.*; 2 of 1,000*l.*; 1 of 900*l.*; 22 of 800*l.*; 7 of 700*l.*; 9 of 600*l.*."—Pp. 47-8.

the last year of his administration, set forth the opinion, "that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone." A Committee of Public Instruction, afterwards known as the Council of Education, was established; and a most able gentleman, Mr. William Adam, sent out as special commissioner through Bengal and Behar, to report upon the state of education.

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Lord William Bentinck's exclusive patronage of English education may have been too absolute. But it is obvious, that through familiarity with English alone can the native population raise themselves to their due level of social equality with ourselves. Their wrongs can never be redressed until they can force them upon us in our mother-tongue. Much as I am disposed to value the Oriental languages and their literary treasures, I would gladly see them all blotted out of human memory to-morrow, if by this sacrifice every Hindoo ryot were enabled to tell his own tale, to state his own wants, in the Queen's English.

Strange to say, however, the rival schools of educationalists who have for so many years waged so hot a struggle in India, seem to me to have overlooked that which reconciles their separate half-truths. Assimilation, unity is the end; community of thought and speech the means. Now, to use that means effectually, it must be sought *from both sides at once*. The Englishman must take as much pains to familiarize himself with the language and literature of the natives, as the

PART II. native with the language and literature of the
History. English. No encouragement should be too great
 LECT. XIII. for Hindoo or Mussulman to become perfect
 English scholars;—none too great, for English-
 men to become perfect scholars in Sanskrit, or
 Arabic. Nay, there is a class of natives who
 should be encouraged to become such, almost as
 much as Englishmen. But who? Not Mussul-
 men. Not Hindoos. *Native Christians*, in com-
 munity of faith with ourselves, should be *the*
 students whom we should maintain in our col-
 leges for Oriental literature. Christian baptism
 should be their title of admission in such insti-
 tutions to the study of the Vedas and the Koran.
 Instead of this, I fear, the whole course of in-
 struction amongst Christian converts hitherto
 has been to turn them away from such studies,
 —to teach them to look upon them with con-
 tempt. I have known a noble-minded young
 Brahmin, who had sacrificed much for the Chris-
 tian faith. He seemed hardly capable of under-
 standing that a European should take interest in
 the holy languages, in the legends of his country.
 It is not such feelings that can make head against
 the real strength of Indian heathenism.

But the system of education promoted by Lord William Bentinck, and by all his successors, had one great fault. It was a purely intellectual education. The Bible was excluded from the Government schools. Granted, that it should not have been forced upon the natives. Granted, that its study should have been entirely optional. But to attempt to assimilate the natives to ourselves, and to keep out of their view that which has made us what we are, I hold to have been simply

futile. The missionaries—those in particular of the Church of Scotland—took a different course. Dr. Duff came out to India in 1830, commissioned by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, to institute a system of European education for the natives, in connexion with Christianity. The Holy Scriptures were openly taught. Yet he began with seven pupils, and had soon 1,200. I have told you already, how the missionary schools are preferred to the Government schools, by the very bulk of the native population. Let me add, that although Lord William Bentinck may have committed a mistake in not offering optional religious instruction in the Government schools, yet he gave a hearty approval to the missionaries' proceedings, and openly wrote to those of Calcutta, that the Missionary Societies "could not send to India too many labourers." A powerful help was indeed afforded indirectly to missionary operations by a regulation little understood at the time, limiting the enforcement of the Mahomedan and Hindoo laws to cases where both parties were *bonâ fide* professors of those religions. The object of this was, to screen converts from the severe penalties imposed upon apostasy.

Another great educational institution, of which Lord William Bentinck encouraged the foundation, and which he ruled long enough to see inaugurated (1835), was the Medical College of Calcutta. The touch of a corpse being a pollution to the high-caste Hindoos, it seemed impossible to old Indians that the study of anatomy from the human subject could attract the natives. Gradually they came to it, and the greatest and

PART II. most useful victory was achieved, that has yet
History. been won against caste.

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Another portion of Lord William Bentinck's work relates to the suppression of inhuman practices amongst the native population. Foremost among these stood the right of *suttee*, or widow-burning, of which I have already spoken. Lord Amherst, as we have seen, had not dared to attack it. Lord William Bentinck did not shrink from doing so. Before the end of 1829 (4th December), he forbade the performance of *suttee*, within the British dominions, under severe penalties. In spite of many forebodings on the part of Indian Tories, no resistance was offered to the measure, although some rich Hindoos petitioned against it, and carried the matter before the Privy Council, where it was argued in June, 1832, and decided against them. But one is happy to have to add, that other natives presented commendatory addresses to the Governor-General on the suppression of the rite. Amongst these latter were Rammohun Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore.

Kindred in horror with the rite of *suttee*, but for the most part devoid of all that softens its repulsiveness, is the practice of infanticide. That form of it which consists in the offering of children in sacrifice to the River-god Gunga, or Ganges, the least offensive, is also the easiest reached, and may be said to have been suppressed by this time. But the most prevalent and hideous form of the crime was that of *female* infanticide,—the murdering of girls to avoid the disgrace of their celibacy, or the expense of marrying and portioning them. This

was common, especially among the Rajpoots, and the Catties, their kindred, throughout the whole of the North-west, from the shores of Cutch and Guzerat, northwards. Sometimes the new-born babe was drowned in a vessel full of milk; at other times, suffocated; or again, frightful to say, poisoned by the application of opium to the mother's own breast.¹ Ever since 1789 the British Government had been trying to suppress it in Cutch and Cattywar. Regulations had been issued for the purpose (1795 and 1804): the chiefs of two great tribes had bound themselves by covenant to abolish the practice (1789 and 1808). It was persevered in, nevertheless. In one tribe the number of female children was only one-sixth of that of males. On one estate, of 400 families, not one female child was to be found. Discoveries like these stimulated fresh exertion on the part of the British authorities. But the most efficient step was taken in a different field. Colonel Hall, Commissioner amongst the wild aboriginal Mairs, near Ajmeer, found two odious customs prevalent amongst them,—the sale of women, and female infanticide. He found, also, that both had their origin in the heavy expense of marriage contracts, which fall entirely on the bride's father. He prevailed upon the people to call together a general assembly or *panchayet*, which lowered the marriage expenses, and took other measures for the suppression of both customs. Thus, by the

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¹ See in Mr. Raikes's "Notes on the North-West Provinces of India," p. 12, n. *, an extract from a prize essay on female infanticide, by a Parsee.

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voluntary action of the natives themselves, did both evils disappear amongst the Mairs, it would seem, at once and for ever (1827).

The time was not yet come when the principle of a sumptuary law was to be more generally applied. Sir John Malcolm, then Governor of Bombay, tried, in 1831, the effect of a personal visit to Bhooj—one of the centres of the practice,—and of an address to the chiefs. An “Infanticide Fund” had been established in 1825, out of the fines imposed upon tributaries and from other sources. Out of this, pecuniary aid was afforded towards marriage expenses to those chiefs who preserved their female infants. Mr. Willoughby, political agent in Cattywar, drew up a valuable report, containing a summary of various measures which should be taken for the suppression of the crime (1831). It was efficiently acted on; and the number of female infants preserved is said to have risen to one-half of the whole number born. In Rajpootana itself, the leading prince, the Rana of Oodipore, was prevailed upon to set the example of prohibiting the practice; and Lord William Bentinck wrote to him a letter (1834), expressive of his satisfaction. Still, the evil was only diminished, not suppressed.

Another huge and peculiar evil of India was the system of Thuggee, or hereditary murder; and for the suppression of this, also, the most effective steps were taken, under the rule of Lord William Bentinck.

The goddess Kalee (otherwise known as Devee, Doorga, or Bhavane), Siva's consort, made war in old time, it is said, upon a gigantic

monster, every drop of whose blood became a demon, from whose blood again other demons were generated, till the goddess created two men, to whom she gave handkerchiefs wherewith to destroy the demons without spilling blood; and when they had fulfilled their task, bestowed the handkerchiefs upon them as a gift, with the privilege of using them against human beings for their livelihood. They are noticed by European travellers in the seventeenth century, when they seem to have used female decoys—as the autobiography of Lutfullah shows them to have done within the present century—but were evidently of a much older date, even though we may not give implicit faith to the assertion of a “Thug of the royal race,”—that “he and his fathers had been Thugs for twenty generations.” The fraternity consisted of men of different religions and castes, inhabiting all parts of India, having secret signs, and a peculiar dialect. The majority of them are still, at least nominally, Mahommedans;¹ and according to their traditions, their different clans sprang from seven tribes, all Mahommedan, in the neighbourhood of Delhi, who were dislodged in the seventeenth century. But they all agree in the worship of Kalee, observe her usual Hindoo festivals, present offerings at her most famous temples, solemnize special feasts in her honour, with offerings of goats, rice, fruits, and spirit; and after any murder offer solemnly to her a piece of silver and some coarse sugar,—the holy wafer of Thuggee, which is held to change man’s whole

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¹ See Lutfullah’s Account of Jum’a, the Thug.

PART II. nature, and of which only those who apply the
History. noose are on this occasion allowed to partake.
LECT. XIII. The members of the gang are taught from boy-
hood to look upon murder, by the noose, as their
calling. The boy is first employed as a scout
only; then allowed to see and handle the corpse,
and to assist in the interment: lastly, em-
powered to use the noose, after a solemn initi-
ation from one of the elders, as his gooroo or
spiritual guide, by means of the sacred sugar.
The pickaxe for digging the grave (also deemed
a gift of the goddess) is solemnly forged,
solemnly consecrated, looked upon with especial
veneration, worshipped every seventh day; the
dead cannot be buried with any other instru-
ment; it is the Thug standard,—the awful oath
which can never be broken.

The Thugs followed ostensibly any ordinary
calling—agriculture, industry, trade. They tra-
velled under various disguises, often to consider-
able distances, straggling into villages by threes
and fours, meeting as strangers. One of them
sometimes passed as a man of rank, with nume-
rous attendants, and his women in palanquins,
which in reality contained generally the imple-
ments of their calling. They fell in with other
travellers as if by accident, or for mutual pro-
tection. Suddenly, at the favourable spot, one
threw the waist-band or turban round the vic-
tim's neck, another drew it tight, both pushing
him forward with their other hands, a third
seized him by the legs and threw him on the
ground. If the locality was dangerous, a canvas
screen was thrown up, as if to conceal women,
and the body buried behind it; or one of them

would distract the attention of travellers by pretending to be in a fit. If a stranger approached nevertheless, they wept over the body as over a dear comrade. The traces of the murder were quickly obliterated. Such was their expertness and success, that 100 Thugs could, it is said, slaughter on an average 800 persons in a month. They always went forward, never passing through towns or villages through which their victims had passed. If they killed a man of note, they took care to dispose of all his attendants.

They had implicit faith in omens; but when the omens were once favourable, they looked upon the victim as an appointed sacrifice to the Deity, so that if he were not slain, Deves would be wroth with them, and reduce them and theirs to misery. So they ate and drank and slept without remorse upon the new-filled graves. A Thug leader, courteous and eloquent, being asked whether he never felt compunction in slaying the innocent, replied, "Does any man feel compunction in following his trade, and are not all our trades assigned to us by Providence?"—"How many people have you killed with your own hands?"—"None."—"Have you not just been describing a number of murders?"—"Do you suppose I could have committed them? Is any man killed from man's killing? Is it not the hand of God that kills him, and are not we instruments in the hand of God?" In their own villages they might be tender husbands, kind fathers, faithful friends. Often their calling was not suspected. Their community profited, of course, by their wealth. They generally paid tribute to the zemindar or to the police officials,

PART II. whose brothers and other near relatives were
History. often members of the gangs; some Thugs were
LECT XIII. in Government employ themselves. Superstition
often protected them, when discovered, as the
favourites of Devee. A Raja had been struck
with leprosy, it was said, for having two Thug
leaders trampled under foot by elephants, though
he built up a wall begun by one of the Thugs,
raised them a tomb, fed Brahmins, had worship
performed. One of the Scindias, who had been
warned to release seventy Thugs, began to spit
blood after their execution, and was dead in
three months. Rajpoot chiefs perished miserably
for the like cause. So openly was the traffic
carried on at one time, that merchants came
from a distance to purchase the plunder.

The extension of British rule, however, gradually made the land too hot to hold them. Many were arrested in Mysore as early as 1799; others were punished in 1807. From the ceded provinces of Oude, by many sentences of imprisonment or death, they had to migrate, chiefly to Malwa and Rajpootana. In 1820, a large gang was apprehended in the valley of the Nerbudda, but escaped by favour of law and procedure. In 1823, in the same valley, two large gangs were again arrested, one amounting to 115; and this time convictions were obtained. Still, the law was too cumbrous and slow to extirpate them. Stringent measures were at last taken, under Lord William Bentinck (1829), for their suppression, particularly in the Saugur and Nerbudda territories. There were at this time "very few districts of India" without "resident gangs of Thugs;" in some, "almost

every village community was, more or less, tainted with the system; while there was not one district free from their depredations." A regular Thuggee Suppression Department was instituted. Mr. F. C. Smith, Political Commissioner, in charge of the districts above named, was invested with large powers for the summary trial and conviction of Thugs; Major (afterwards Sir William) Sleeman being appointed Commissioner under him: other officers were subsequently charged with similar duties in other districts. By promises of reward and employment, Sleeman and his associates gradually obtained from approvers full details as to the organisation of their fraternity, and the gangs were hunted down with almost complete success, latterly even in the native States¹, under arrangements made for the purpose. In six years,—from 1830 to 1835,—2000 Thugs had been arrested and tried, at Indore, Hyderabad, Saugur and Jubbulpore, of whom about 1,500 were convicted and sentenced to death, transportation, or imprisonment. The final stroke was put to the work after Lord William Bentinck's departure, in 1836, by an Act, making the mere fact of belonging to any Thug gang punishable with imprisonment for life with hard labour, and rendering procedure still more summary.²

We now come to the greatest work of Lord

¹ It would be a mistake, however, as Lutfullah's autobiography shows, to suppose that Thugs were not punished by the native princes, quite apart from British influence. The execution of Jum'a, which he relates, took place in the height of Scindia's power.

² Besides the Thug or strangler caste, there is also in India a poisoner caste, but it appears to be either less spread or less known.

PART II. William Bentinck's administration,—the revenue
History. settlement of the North-Western Provinces.

LECT. XIII. Lord William Bentinck was no closet official. He sought always to see and judge for himself. Before entering upon his office, he was already familiar, as I have said, with the condition of Madras. Soon after taking it up, he inspected the settlements of Eastern India; and subsequently visited all the provinces in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta, both to the east and west.¹ In 1830, he proceeded to the North-West, making himself everywhere accessible for the receipt of petitions and letters; ascended to the heights of Simla, visited Delhi, and proceeding to Agra by Ajmeer, was joined by Lord Clare, Governor of Bombay; then he returned to Calcutta, after more than two years' absence (1833). The events and measures relating to foreign policy, which are connected with this journey, I shall advert to hereafter. Its main object, however, had been the final determining of the revenue system of the Upper Provinces.

It had been at first intended to apply the permanent zemindarée settlement to the provinces ceded by Oude, and the Mahratta territory between the Jumna and Ganges. But when Commissioners were appointed for the purpose, they found difficulty in doing so. They were come amongst a sturdier race than the Bengalees;—a race amongst whom the Musulman revenue farmer, here called talookdar,

¹ Lord William Bentinck's progresses were, moreover, carried on with the utmost simplicity, as compared with those of his successors.

had been unable wholly to rough-ride the village communities. They suggested delay (1807). Gradually the blunders of the permanent settlement became known. In 1811, the Court of Directors forbade the pledging its extension to the North-West. In 1812, they doubted whether it would be universally desirable. In 1815, they began commenting on its mistakes. Meanwhile, however, the worst mischief of the Bengal system, the Sale Law,—by which whole estates were brought to the hammer for default of payment of revenue,—had been introduced, and suffered to run riot. Mr. Kaye relates a striking instance of the frightful oppressions perpetrated under it. During the hot winds of 1818, a judicial officer, whilst fixing the site of some police-stations, was approached from a neighbouring hut by a respectable old Hindoo. They entered into conversation: the Englishman enjoying the prospect from “one of those artificial mounds which, in that part of the country, mark the sites of ancient villages.” He asked his companion who he was. “Who I am? The owner of that hut. Who I was? The chief over all you can see.” When English rule was established, he had never seen a European. He went to the chief native revenue officer, reported to have great influence with the collector, asking him what he was to do under his new masters. The officer told him that the collector was like a tiger; that he had better keep out of his sight; but that if he would always pay his revenue through him (the native officer), all should be straight. He did so, with the utmost punctuality. One fine day, a stranger appeared, claim-

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ing all his dues from the cultivators. He asked the stranger who he was. "He had bought the estate by *neelam* (auction): it was his." The old chief had never even heard the word. He soon found that the native officer had withheld all the money; that an order for sale, by reason of default in payment of revenue, had been obtained; and that the swindler was himself the real purchaser. One wishes Mr. Kaye had added, that the defrauded chief had been restored to his property.

A common mode of fraudulent eviction was this: The European officers, with no ideas in their heads as to rights of property beyond the two of a revenue-farmer and an individual land-owner, had their books drawn up in two columns, one headed *moostajeer* (farmer), the other *malik* (proprietor). And it is almost incredible that I should have to add, that by the evidence of the entries in these columns, made by their own native underlings, men's titles to land were held to have been settled. The village headman, representing only the rights of the community, did not dream of holding himself forth as the proprietor of the land. He came forward merely, as he had done under the Musulman Governments, whenever allowed to do so, to take a lease of the revenue of his village for such term as Government chose to grant him, and was entered as *moostajeer*. The *malik* column remained blank, and the native official filled it up, at his leisure and pleasure, with the name of some man of straw. At the end of his revenue lease, the village headman, applying for renewal, was thrust aside, and the rights of his

whole community suddenly annihilated, in favour of the imaginary *malik*, the native official's stalking-horse. One of these contrived in this manner to possess himself of ninety large villages; another, to be the registered owner of the whole district or *pergunneh* within which he acted. The natives said of the English with astonishment, that they flogged a man for stealing a brass pot, and rewarded him for stealing a *pergunneh*.

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But the warlike North-westerners were not to be dispossessed, like the Bengalees. They tried the law; the courts were against them. "Law failing, luck failing," says Mr. Raikes, "the stubborn husbandman had recourse to the last argument, indeed too often the first argument with a Rajpoot, the club or the *tulwar* (broad-sword). Open affrays, nightly assassinations, endless and bloody feuds, spread over the land." At last (1817), a frightful revolutionist, Mr. T. C. Robertson, judge at Cawnpore, had the inconceivable daring to see that the collector's books could be no proof of title. He called upon a duly registered "*malik*" to show his right to the land by conveyance or inheritance. He had none to show. So he decided in favour of the *moostajeer*, who was shown to be the village headman, claiming by immemorial title.

A most dangerous decision. The Court of Appeal at Bareilly, respectable Conservatives as they were, of course reversed it. Revolutionary Mr. Robertson went on judging to the same effect. The Court of Appeal went on reversing his decisions. A special appeal was sent up to the Sudder Court of Calcutta. Mr. Robertson was irregular enough to translate and send up

PART II. some of the appeal judgments to Government.

History. They were so absurd that he was successful at last, and a regulation was passed, recognising the injustice done by the Sale Law, and appointing a commission to inquire into landed tenures and late transfers of property in the North-West (1821). The next year another regulation (vii. of 1822) appeared, which has been called "The Magna Charta of the Village Communities," in which "property in the soil, as distinguished from interest in the *mal* or revenue, was for the first time clearly recognised." Still the new law was complex, and stuffed with formalities. "A hide of land supplied a bullock-load of records." At the end of ten years, sixty more would have been required to complete the work. Lord William Bentinck stopped this trifling. Another famous regulation (ix. of 1833), short, stringent, and effectual, was passed. In disputed cases, village juries were to be summoned, and their award to be at once carried out. Details were thrown upon subordinates. In eight years the survey of the North-West Provinces was completed. The new settlement was called the "putteedaree" settlement, or settlement made with putteedars, or sharers of estates. Each individual cultivator pays through the representative of the proprietary body, generally the village headman, his quota of the assessment laid on the entire community, but apportioned by and amongst themselves. In case of default, proceedings are directed in the first instance against the defaulting allotment; but if these do not suffice, the whole proprietary body is responsible.

Such, then, was the "Settlement of the North-Western Provinces," carried chiefly by Mr. Robert Mertins Bird, over a country equal in extent to all Great Britain, excluding Wales. Under it, the revenue for a long time progressively increased; the amount of sales for default of payment diminished proportionably, by more than five-sixths in six years (1842-3 to 1847-8). The revenue is reckoned extremely light,—not more than one-third of the gross produce! In 1852, it was said that a strip of country which at one time was inhabited by such a lawless people, that no native chief would take the lands at a gift, was perfectly peaceful, thickly inhabited, and well cultivated, with no arrears of revenue, notwithstanding failure of crops. And if, during the present sepoy insurrection, the inhabitants of the North-Western Provinces have taken in many instances, it would seem, no part with the mutineers, I doubt whether the character of the "putteedaree" settlement has not had more to say than anything else to their standing aloof. What is, indeed, incredible, is, that in the face of the success of this last revenue experiment, any other system should have been allowed to subsist, where the "putteedaree" could be tried.

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Contrary to my practice hitherto in these Lectures, I have begun by considering exclusively Lord William Bentinck's measures of internal administration, because they give the tone to the whole history of his rule. The seven years during which that rule lasted were, indeed, with one inconsiderable exception, unmarked by anything that could be called a war. They were not, however, free from disturbance. Syed

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Ahmed, of whom I spoke in the first part of these Lectures, originally a trooper under Ameer Khan, had, some years previously, attained great fame as a religious reformer,—claiming to purify Mahommedanism (of the Soonnee, or Arab stamp) from Hindoo and Sheeah (or Persian) practices.¹ He began preaching the “holy war” in our own provinces, but first proclaimed it against the Sikhs (1826), and assisted by contributions from almost every large town in India,—Delhi, Lucknow, Surat, Hyderabad, Madras, Calcutta itself,—raised an army of between 30,000 and 40,000 men. It could not, however, make head against Runjeet Sing’s disciplined forces, and, after several years’ fighting, he was at last killed, in 1831, and the holy war, as such, was put an end to. But his followers were not extinguished; and, in the year of his death, one of the reformed communities settled near Baraset, in Lower Bengal, took up arms against the Hindoos; killed a cow; forced Brahmins to eat beef; put the magistrate to flight; and were not quelled until two regiments of native infantry, with guns and cavalry, were called out against them, when about 100 were killed, and 250 taken prisoners. There is little doubt, as I have said before, that of late years there has been a great revival of Mussulman enthusiasm in India, and that this is the chief sustaining power of the present insurrection.

Other mutterings of the storm which has now broken out may, indeed, already be detected at this period. The King of Delhi was held to have been hardly used. He was at least dissatisfied with his position, and with the amount of his

¹ See Appendix D. to Vol. I.

pension. To seek justice at its fountain-head, he deputed to England a most remarkable man, whom I have already named—Rammohun Roy, a Brahmin of the Koolin tribe, the highest of all,¹ born in 1780; who, by the study of the Koran, had been led to renounce idolatry and polytheism, and, after spending some years in the service of the English Government, withdrew from public life to Calcutta in 1814, and endeavoured to effect a religious reform amongst the Hindoos, by diffusing tracts in Sanskrit, Bengalee, and English, consisting, as far as possible, of extracts from the Vedas, and other works of native origin, inculcating the unity of God, and a spiritual form of worship. Here he came in contact with Unitarians, with whose body he became afterwards somewhat intimately connected. He died of fever at Bristol in 1833. On his mission for the King of Delhi he was not recognised officially in England, as having come unsanctioned by the local Government. But the event is said to have made an impression in India in favour of the emperor, which was heightened by his refusal to accept an augmented pension in lieu of the revenues of certain districts to which he claimed a right, and still more so by the insolence of the acting British Resident at Delhi, who insulted and beat passengers in the streets when they omitted to salute him; until at last the natives came to a general agreement not to go abroad when the acting Resident was expected

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¹ For it must not be forgotten that there are tribes amongst the Brahmins themselves. Those of the south, indeed, are much looked down upon, and scarcely admitted to fellowship, by their northern brethren.

PART II. to ride out. Things came to such a pitch, that
History. the irritation is said to have extended through
LECT. XIII. Northern India. The acting Resident was removed
by Lord William Bentinck, on the remonstrance
of the King, but the post of acting Resident be-
came, henceforth, one of difficulty and danger ;
and at last, Mr. Fraser, who occupied the office,
was assassinated (March, 1835) by a man hired
by Shams ud Deen, son of the late Nawab of
Ferozepore, through a grudge which he bore to
the Resident for keeping him out of a certain dis-
trict to which he had been adjudged entitled by
the Supreme Government. Both the murderer
and Shams ud Deen were tried, convicted, and
hanged, as common malefactors, notwithstanding
the rank of the latter. Although Mr. Fraser
was a man fond, to an especial degree, of the
native population, the Mussulmen of Delhi looked
upon his assassins as martyrs. We may rest
assured that all these things,—the preachings of
Syed Ahmed, the grievances of the King of Delhi,
the mad brutality of the British acting Resident,
the execution of the Nawab,—had none of them
been forgotten at Delhi in 1857.

The newly-acquired territories to the east, and
the States taken under our protection after the
Burmese war, were at this time a good deal
troubled, partly by incursions from foreign tribes,
partly by risings of hill-tribes and others within.
Part of Assam was made into a tributary State
under one who had already been raja. On the
other hand, the greater part of the principality
of Kachar was permanently annexed, a portion
being added to Munipore, and a small tract
created into a tributary State. Jyntia was en-

tirely annexed in like manner. A conspiracy in the Tenasserim had to be put down by force.

In the heart of India, many disturbances broke out among the wild aboriginal tribes,—Koles, Gonds, Choars. It is difficult to trace out all the causes of these. Sometimes they seem to have arisen in great measure from curtailing the powers of political agents invested with extraordinary authority, when the inveterate plundering propensities of these savages burst forth afresh. But the leading cause seems to be, everywhere, the dislike to the revenue and judicial regulations of the Company, when sought to be put in force, and the insolence and extortions of the native officials employed for that purpose. The insurgents were armed only with bows and arrows, axes,—sometimes a matchlock. Great ignorance prevailing as to their language, “there was reason to apprehend,” says Mr. Wilson, that in some cases “they were attacked and killed when they were assembled with the purpose of tendering their submission, but had no means of making their purpose known.” The appointment of special Commissioners, with discretionary powers, in place of the enforcement of the regulation system, seems to have been an unfailing cure for these disturbances. In the Rajpootana States, coercion was applied, on behalf of the native princes, to other aboriginal tribes,—Meenas and Bheels. The district of another of these tribes, the Mhers, or Mairs, who detested the Rajpoots, had been taken, since 1821, under British superintendence, and under Captain, afterwards Colonel Hall (whom I have named already), was rising already to that state of prosperity

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PART II. which became so remarkable under his successor,
History. Colonel Dixon.

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In the south two important operations had taken place—one of them dignified with the title of a war. An insurrection in Mysore, at first sought to be put down by British force, seemed to be so evidently the result of misgovernment that the Raja was pensioned off, and his country placed under a Commissioner (1833). The Raja of Coorg also, son of a firm ally of the English, a prince of great violence and cruelty, showed himself adverse to English interests, and wrote insulting letters to the Governor-General. It was resolved to depose him, and five columns of English troops entered his territory. But whatever might have been the delinquencies of their prince, the Coorgees were staunch in his defence, and offered a gallant and able resistance. One of their passes was so well stockaded and defended, that the British failed to carry it, and retreated with a loss of nearly 150 killed and wounded; in short, of the five invading columns, three had to fall back, pursued by the Coorgees. However, the capital (Madhookaira) was occupied, and the Raja surrendered, re-entering his capital with 2,000 unarmed men, preceded by fifty palanquins full of his women, with two fiddlers at the head, who struck up the “British Grenadiers” on passing the British guard at the gate of the fort. He was sent to Bangalore, afterwards to Benares. Coorg was annexed (1834). It is the same prince who has since become a Christian, and whose daughter is a godchild of our Queen.

Lord William Bentinck’s instructions with reference to native States were, however, never

to interfere except for the vindication of British pecuniary claims—a position which it was impossible for the Government to keep up in India without loss of dignity. The consequence was, that in Oude, under Nasir ud Deen Hyder, a really able minister, Hakim Mehdee, was allowed to be dismissed on account of the reforms which he sought to introduce, notwithstanding official applications to the British Government for counsel and advice, by which, according to existing treaties, the King of Oude was bound to be governed. With these applications the Resident was instructed not to comply; but a few years later the Court of Oude received notice that the Company would resume the territory, if the necessary reforms were not spontaneously adopted. A not altogether dissimilar course was pursued in reference to Scindia. The female regent, the Baiza Báee, had governed the country with great ability, but she was inclined to retain the power in her own hands, notwithstanding the coming of age of the young Raja. Both parties appealed to the Governor-General, whose decision either way would, no doubt, have settled the matter. But he could only, under his instructions, give good advice; the matter had to be decided by force of arms, the Baiza Báee eventually had the worst in the struggle, and withdrew to the Deckan, considering herself deeply wronged, as having acquired and paid for (by her loan of 80,000*l.*) the right to British protection (1833). She is now the inveterate enemy of the English, and being a woman of great ability, is reputed to have had some hand in the late disturbances. The change of government from her hands to

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PART II. those of the young Raja was decidedly for the
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In the Rajpoot States an army had to be assembled to overawe Man Sing, Raja of Jodhpore, whose tribute had fallen into arrear, and who harboured marauders from the British territories. "A single *chuprassee*" (servant with a badge), said his envoys, "would have been sufficient to secure obedience." However, he procrastinated as much as possible, but, on the threat of immediate dethronement, submitted to all conditions. A share of a salt-lake, called Sambhar, and of the district of the same name, were taken possession of as a security. In Jyepore, the subjugation, by a British force, of the Shekawattees,¹ a robber tribe of the desert west of Rajpootana, nominal feudatories of Jyepore, who had lately extended their ravages into British territory, and whose country was retained (the tributes due to Jyepore being transferred to the British, and the Jyepore share of the Sambhar salt-lake and district being also detained as security), gave great offence to both prince and people. A jealousy of the English sprang up, and a few months after Lord William Bentinck's departure (4th June, 1835), an attack was made on the Resident, Major Alves, and his assistant, Mr. Blake, was killed. All persons connected with the outrage were, however, punished, some with death; and eventually the Council of Regency of the state, then under a minor, was placed under the immediate protection of the Resident.

Strange to say, while the Governor-General

¹ The Shekawatee corps was embodied, and is one of those which have now remained faithful.

was instructed to abstain from protective interference with the native States of India itself, he was also instructed—through fear of Russia at home—to establish a commanding influence upon the Indus. Negotiations were opened with the princes having the command of that river for the free transit of vessels laden with European goods. Colonel Pottinger was sent as an envoy to Scinde. The Ameers of Scinde instinctively distrusted us, and hesitated long. Eventually, however, treaties were concluded with them (April, 1832, and December, 1834), stipulating perpetual friendship; that neither party should ever “look with a covetous eye on the possessions of each other;” that the merchants and traders of India should have a free passage along the Indus, subject only to a toll on the boats carrying them, at a fixed sum per boat, without reference to tonnage. Similar engagements were entered into with Runjeet Sing, as to that portion of the Indus flowing through the Punjab, and the other rivers of the Punjab (December, 1832, and January, 1835), and with the Nawab of Bahawalpore, as to his part of the Indus (February, 1833, and February, 1835). Great advances were made to Runjeet Sing; English horses were sent to him as a present; an interview took place between the Governor-General and him at Roopar, on the Sutlej (October, 1831), the stay of the two potentates being extended to a whole week. At this interview was no doubt decided the question of the subsequent invasion of Afghanistan by Shah Sooja, a British pensioner at Loodiana, who, in January, 1833, with a few hundred followers, set out for the invasion of Afghanistan,

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as it appeared by a treaty concluded two months later, with the countenance of Runjeet Sing. His followers soon swelled to 30,000; he defeated the Ameers of Scinde, and moved on towards Candahar, but was in turn defeated by Dost Mahommed, and had eventually to return a fugitive to Loodiana (1834). It is only in connexion with subsequent events that this expedition has some importance.

The advance of Russia upon Khiva, and the threatening of Herat by Persia, now wholly under Russian influence, were the occasions that determined the taking up of this line of policy to the west of the Indus. In connexion with it must be mentioned Lieutenant, afterwards Sir Alexander, Burnes' voyage upon the Indus, followed by his exploring tour through Central Asia. Of greater importance were the attempts to accelerate communications between Europe and India. The "Enterprise," making way by a combination of steaming and sailing, followed the old route round the Cape of Good Hope, but effected no saving of time, taking three months to make the voyage. An overland route by the Euphrates was explored by Colonel Chesney; but Lieutenant Waghorn established the preferableness of the Red Sea route, and the "Hugh Lindsay" made in thirty-two days the first voyage from Bombay to Suez,—the whole distance to England has since been traversed in the same space of time. Lord William Bentinck strongly promoted the acceleration of communications between Europe and India, viewing this as the means by which "the natives of India in person would be enabled to bring their complaints and grievances before

the authorities and the country," and by which "disinterested travellers would have it in their power to report to their country at home the nature and circumstances of this distant portion of the empire." The result, he trusted, would be "to rouse the shameful apathy and indifference of Great Britain to the concerns of India."

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The former of these hopes has long since been well-nigh defeated by red-tapeism. Natives of India have come in person, full of grievances, to lay their complaints before the authorities at home. They have not been listened to, *because* their complaints had not been recognised by the Indian authorities, of whom they complained. As to disinterested travellers visiting India, a one-handed man might almost reckon them on his fingers. Beyond Mr. Alexander Mackay, who died in India when sent out by the "men of Manchester," and Mr. Danby Seymour, whose journey to India certainly produced the first efficient measures for the suppression of official torture,—besides earning for himself a secretaryship to the Board of Control,—I can remember none.

A curious feud broke out, during Lord William Bentinck's administration at Bombay, between the Government and the Supreme Court, recalling the old days of Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey. It should be understood that the administration of English law by the Supreme Court is restricted throughout India to the Presidencies, and to British subjects in the provinces. The exemption of the latter so far from the jurisdiction of the Company's Courts is looked on with great disfavour by the Company; and every now and then a "Black Act" is sought to be

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passed, subjecting Englishmen to Company's jurisdiction, whereat the whole English community rebel—a satisfactory proof of the esteem in which they hold Company's justice, which is all that 180,000,000 of their darker fellow-subjects have to look to. Sometimes, however, the bow is bent the other way by the judges of the Supreme Court; and in 1829, the Court of Bombay issued a *habeas corpus* for bringing up a Mahratta lad from Poona to Bombay. The Poona magistrate refused obedience. The Governor, Sir John Malcolm, supported him. Soldiers were placed at the defendant's door, to prevent the execution of the writ. Sir J. P. Grant, then sole surviving judge of the Supreme Court, who had already applied to the Privy Council, closed the Court for a couple of months, but eventually re-opened it. The Government at Calcutta refused to interfere. The Privy Council decided that writs of *habeas corpus* do not extend to natives beyond the bounds of Bombay. Sir J. P. Grant had colleagues appointed, and resigned his office in September, 1830. These discussions led to the consideration of the need of putting the legislative power of India on a more definite footing.

During this period, the Charter of the East India Company was again renewed (1833). On this occasion the Company's monopoly of the China trade was put an end to, and its commercial character entirely abolished. Its political functions were, however, continued, and it remained as a very anomalous sort of Government board, subject in almost everything to the absolute will of the Board of Control, but independently appointed by

a most miscellaneous constituency ; retaining nominally the direction of affairs, and invested still with a few extraordinary privileges, such as the power of recalling Governors-General. A fourth presidency, that of the North-Western Provinces, with the seat of government at Agra, was now established, together with bishoprics at Madras and Bombay. A legal member was added to the Supreme Council ; all legal restrictions on the residence of Europeans were removed, and slavery was prospectively abolished.

Thus ends Lord William Bentinck's administration. I do not approve of all its details.¹ But I know of none like it. Those who sneer at him for a "humanitarian" Governor-General know

¹ The three measures of Lord William Bentinck's administration which appear most open to canvass are,—1st, the encouragement given to the admission of high-caste men into the army ; 2d, the inquiry ordered as to rent-free lands ; 3d, the re-union of the judicial with the fiscal power.

The first class of acts,—which involved the abolition of flogging in the native army, as pollution to the high-caste man,—have certainly borne evil fruit at last. But it is certain that Lord William Bentinck's object was not what the enlistment of the high castes has since sunk into—a mere looking out for the most showy soldiers ; but, on the contrary, the raising the character of the army, and interesting the native gentry in the maintenance of our rule.

The inquiry as to the titles to rent-free lands has led to grievous consequences. In the hands of the Company's fiscal officers, it became almost a general inquisition into title in Northern India, in which no man's rights were secure, if an apparent flaw could be discovered in them. I believe no man would have been more opposed than Lord William Bentinck to the manifold oppressions, the wholesale spoliations under the title of resumptions, to which it seems to have led.

The re-union of judicial with fiscal power seems to me, indeed, objectionable in itself. I am bound, however, to say that civilians of great ability and benevolence, such as Mr. Raikes, entirely approve of the measure. See his "Notes," p. 148, and following.

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little of his doings, or wilfully belie them. I know of scarcely any wrong which he did not attack, of scarcely any enmity which he did not provoke for right's sake. His measures of retrenchment offended every official. His opening of employment to natives alarmed every seeker for office. His resolute promotion of English education galled Orientalists; could not be favourably looked upon by natives. In patronizing the dissecting-room at the Medical College, he attacked caste in its stronghold. In abolishing suttee within the British dominions, he struck a home-blow at the enormities of popular Hindooism. He struck another at English official Toryism in establishing the village system in the North-West. Thuggee he caused to be hunted down, as Thuggee should be hunted down, without a shadow of misplaced leniency.

For a time his place was worthily filled. Of all the statesmen whom the East India Company's service has trained up, there never was any more high-minded than Sir Charles Metcalfe. Had he been suffered permanently to replace Lord William Bentinck, it is difficult to say how far improvement might not have been carried,—how many precious lives might not—this very year—have been spared. But it is the curse of the double government of India, that too often when the East India Company is wise, the Board of Control is senseless, just as when the Board of Control is wise, the Court of Directors often lose their wits; so that the measure of its good government is that of the minimum of wisdom which they may happen to possess in common at any given time. As Lord

William Bentinck had been kept out of office to make room for Lord Amherst, so Sir Charles Metcalfe had to give way to another nobleman, of still more ominous name. PART II.
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His year's tenure of office (1835-6) was, however, marked by one important measure,—too bold, indeed, as recent events have shown, to be entirely successful,—the abolition of all restrictions on the freedom of the press. In this even he had been in great measure forestalled by Lord William Bentinck, under whom the utmost practical feeling of discussion had prevailed; but Sir Charles Metcalfe is certainly entitled to the credit of having erected the fact into a law. Painful, however, as it is to have to admit it, experience has shown, I think, that in conceding full freedom to the vernacular as well as to the English press in Calcutta, Sir Charles Metcalfe had not taken sufficient account of the stolidity of English superciliousness on the one hand, nor of the animosity to our rule of various portions of the native population on the other. For years the native press has been, it is said, to a great extent, diffusing a spirit of disaffection towards us, unread and unheeded. Little or nothing has been done to counteract the effect of such publications. No vernacular *Moniteur* has addressed the native population, to expound the views of the Government, to place its acts in a favourable light. The cartridge grievance, in particular, had been suffered for months to form the staple subject of inflammatory articles in the native newspapers, when, at last, the late mutinies broke out. So long as we are prepared to deal with India, as we have done hitherto, as a domi-

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nant caste only, without taking the trouble, except so far as may be necessary for the wants of daily life, or for purposes of official advancement, to familiarize ourselves with the language and habits, and modes of thought and feeling, of the native population, so long, as it seems to me, is it a political necessity for us to withhold from it the free use of so mighty an engine of moral influence as the newspaper press. We must govern the country in a very different style and spirit, before we can venture to face the tremendous ordeal of free discussion by our subjects in their own languages.

There was, indeed, abundant scope for peaceful progress. The quantity of honest, manly English work that was going on, under various leaders, in different parts of the country, was most remarkable. Not to speak again of Sleeman, with his associates, vigorously employed in hunting down Thuggee, of Willoughby, and his successor Erskine (1835), active against infanticide in Kattywar,—Sir Charles Metcalfe has the credit of having appointed, as Commissioner in Mairwarra, in place of Colonel Hall, Colonel Dixon, the great civilizer of the wild Mair people. He put a check upon the ravages of drought and consequent famine, which, so late as 1832, had almost depopulated the country, by digging wells, storing up water, encouraging cultivation by all means. Later years saw an actual city (Nyannuggur) grow up in the wilds, and traders from without establish themselves in it; whilst the news of their country's prosperity acted as a charm to recall all its sons, so that ninety families returned to one village, after the lapse

of four generations, to occupy their forefathers' lands. In Candeish, the efforts of various officers, especially Outram and Ovans, had been so effectual amongst the Bheels, that in April, 1835, the Court of Directors could write that "a complete change in the habits of the Bheel tribes had been effected," that they had "universally abandoned their predatory habits;" were "a prosperous agricultural community;" that "from among them a corps had been formed, which had attained so high a state of discipline and efficiency that to its protection the tranquillity of the country was in a great degree confided, and by its means a degree of security, both of person and property, appeared to be maintained, which was scarcely excelled in any part of India."

It was under these favourable circumstances of internal prosperity that Lord Auckland reached India.

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LECTURE XIV.

THE ERA OF AGGRESSION AND ANNEXATION.

PART I. LORDS AUCKLAND, ELLENBOROUGH, AND
HARDINGE (1836-1848).

Lord Auckland's mild Character—His Weakness—Internal Measures—Education—Thuggee Suppression—Dekoitee—The Famine of 1838—Canals and Roads—Foreign Policy—Fears of Russia—Affairs of Afghanistan—Siege of Herat—Feud between Dooranees and Barukzyes—Sir John Hobhouse the Author of the Afghan War—Herat relieved—The War undertaken to restore Shah Sooja—Coercion of the Ameers of Scinde—Success of the First Campaign—Disturbances in Sawunt Warree—Deposal of the Raja of Sattara—Colaba annexed—Mussulman Fermentation—The Cabool Catastrophe—Lord Auckland leaves India—Lord Ellenborough—Sale, Pollock, and Nott—Sir Charles Napier in Scinde—Meeanee and Hyderabad—Scinde annexed—The Gwalior Campaign—Maharajpore and Punniar—Recall of Lord Ellenborough by the Court of Directors—Internal Matters: Confiscation of the Surat Pension—Reforms in Outlying Districts: Macpherson and the Khonds—Lord Hardinge a Peace Governor—Education and Public Employment—Mutinies and Disturbances in Sawunt Warree and Kolapore—First Sikh War: Moodkee, Ferozeshahur, Aliwal, Sobraon—British Protectorate over Dhuleep Sing—Goolab Sing installed in Cashmere—Internal Improvements—Suttee and Infanticide in Rajpootana: Major Ludlow—The Khonds—Agitation for Indian Reform at Home: The British India Society—The Sattara Case—Death of the Raja.

PART II. LORD AUCKLAND was a Whig nobleman, of mild, *History.* amiable, benevolent character; who had begun life
LECT. XIV. in comparative poverty, had been called to the bar, and kept chambers in Old-square, Lincoln's-inn. To judge from his disposition, no one was better

fitted to exercise a peaceful sway over the millions of India. PART II.
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But Lord Auckland had one fatal defect of character; he was essentially a *weak* man. Now, startling as the position may appear, I hold that extreme weakness, in the possession of supreme power—such as, for many practical purposes, is that of the Governor-General of India—is more dangerous than sheer wicked tyranny. Tyranny makes foes; weakness lulls them to sleep. Tyranny threatens you sword in hand; a quick eye, a strong arm may parry the blow. Weakness smiles childishly in your face, while lighting a train of gunpowder; you are blown up before you are aware of it. Finally, tyranny, even when successful, bears away with it the curses of a Warren Hastings. Weakness, when it has done its worst, subsides peacefully into a Lordship of the Admiralty. LECT. XIV.

Hence it is, that under the amiable, weak Lord Auckland, a period of British Indian history opens upon us—and would I might feel sure that it is now over—darker than any since the dark days of Clive and Warren Hastings. All the insolence of conquest, all the lust of power, which the strong hand of Lord William Bentinck had kept under amongst our countrymen, now burst forth unchecked. It is like reading the records of the reign of the Jewish Manasseh after Hezekiah, or of the Roman Commodus after Marcus Aurelius.

I shall again this time intervert my usual practice, in treating of internal measures first. I shall do so, however, from opposite reasons to those which led me to pursue this course in my

PART II. last lecture; not because internal improvement
History. gives the tone to Lord Auckland's rule; but, on
 LECT. XIV. the contrary, lest the record of what there was
 of it should be swallowed up in more tragic
 histories; lest we should overlook the good which
 Lord Auckland meant, in the mischief which he
 did.

Education is part of the traditional Whig stock-in-trade. Lord Auckland promoted it; mitigated to some extent the exclusive *English* system of Lord William Bentinck; founded scholarships, both in the English and in the vernacular schools. This is always a wise plan; but, following the ideas which I have already expressed, it seems to me that its truest shape in India would be that of confining scholarships in the Oriental languages to the English and the Eastern Christians,—granting them in English to the natives generally.

The suppression of Thuggee was aided by new and vigorous regulations. The most interesting measure connected with it was the establishment in 1837, at Jubbulpore, of a school of industry for the children of convicted Thugs, and of approvers, of which a short account will be found in Mr. Kaye's work on the "Administration of the East India Company."¹

But, side by side with Thuggee, there was another frightful social evil prevalent throughout India, that of Dekoitee, or the hereditary practice of gang-robbery. Its existence had been known, for nearly three-quarters of a century, to the English Government. Under Warren Hastings, in 1772, it was aware that the Dekoits of

¹ See pp. 620 and 709.

Bengal were "robbers by profession and even by birth," and "formed into regular communities." It was sought to check them, not only by executing the criminals, but by fining the villages to which they belonged, and selling their children as slaves for the benefit of the State. The zemindars were already known to favour them, the police to be their accomplices; and Warren Hastings was for punishing all alike with death. Lord Cornwallis, led astray by those aristocratic leanings, which led him to establish the zemindaree settlement, mitigated these measures, and only required landlord accessories to make good the value of property stolen or plundered (1792). Dekoitee, of course, flourished under this system, until at last, in 1837, Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, instituted a special commission for its suppression. The next year, Lord Auckland united this with the Thuggee commission, in the hands of the most fit man, Colonel Sleeman.

Sleeman soon unravelled the mystery of Dekoitee. It appeared that there were, in various parts of India, different robber castes, called Budducks, Hurrees, Khéejucks, Dosads, &c., carrying on Dekoitee, as the Thugs did Thuggee, with religious solemnity, formal initiations, and the like. There were, indeed, besides these typical bodies, numerous promiscuously formed gangs; but it was held that none could ever maintain itself without the presence of some of the born robbers, to whom alone had descended the secret lore necessary for the purpose. The pure castes had their secret dialect, their secret signs; consulted their auspices, never attacked a

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house without performing the preliminary sacrifice to the goddess Kalce. But all were alike in the fashion of their work. To attack by night, with a sudden surprise of flaming torches and flashing spears, was their invariable, and almost invariably successful, practice. To carry on their robberies by means of dues paid to zemindars, village headmen, and police, was a practice equally invariable. One-fourth of the booty was considered the fair right of the zemindar; but often the unfortunate robbers were oppressed by extortionate zemindars, just like ordinary ryots, and forced to migrate from their district. The robber castes themselves furnished the bulk of the watchmen, a large portion of whose living was realized out of the contributions of their brethren. They evinced a singular aptitude in meeting the machinery of our administration; dividing their gangs invariably according to our own administrative divisions. Their chiefs travelled in palanquins, and settled matters personally with the native officers. Lord Auckland, however, shrank from applying the remedy against Dekoitee, which had been so successful against Thuggee, the rendering punishable the mere fact of connexion with a gang of Dekoits. Not to revert to this subject, till it takes another form, let me say at once that this step was taken by his successor, Lord Ellenborough, in 1843. But, although much was effected by this means, the evil was far from being suppressed.

Other important measures of practical improvement arose out of a fearful natural calamity. Strange to say, whilst to Englishmen the Cabool disaster is the darkest feature of Lord Auckland's

rule, it is swallowed up, for a large portion of the natives of India, in the still blacker remembrance of the fearful famine which, in 1838, swept over the North-Western Provinces. Half a million of people perished. Mothers sold their children for a morsel of bread. The Brahmin ate the leavings of the outcast. Human beings disputed with the crows the grains of corn which had been voided by the trooper's horse. It is, unfortunately, no anti-climax to say, that besides affording money-help, Government resolved to lower the land-assessment.

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But the frightfulness of Indian famines is, that they occur on a soil which needs but water to fertilize it, and within the neighbourhood of plenty in other provinces, unreachable for want of means of communication. They would be impossible, in time of peace, with canals, reservoirs, and roads. The two former of these, in particular, were no new thing in India, whether under Hindoo or Mussulman, or before the time of either. If any of you ever come across some of the beautiful maps of the Indian survey, you will see that in the far south, throughout vast tracts now covered only with forest, the waters of every stream are at intervals dammed up into little triangular reservoirs. Amongst the Hindoos, the constructing of reservoirs, the digging of wells, and building of aqueducts, have, from time immemorial, been among the most meritorious acts of devotion. The same practice has obtained amongst the Mahomedans and Parsees; whilst the Mogul sovereigns filled the Upper Provinces with great works of irrigation. For half a century we did nothing but let these

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fall into decay. Lord Minto, in 1810, first directed a committee to report on the state of the old canals. Lord Hastings, in 1815, urged upon the Board of Directors the expediency of completing a great Mussulman canal of the Western Jumna, called the Delhi Canal, and devoting 10,000*l.* a year to the work. It was many a long year before the work was carried out, together with the smaller "Eastern Jumna" canal (finished under Lord William Bentinck). But the increase of revenue which these works brought in, both from the land and from water-rents, and the fact that the districts they fertilized remained free from famine in 1838, led to the commencement of a still greater work, the Ganges Canal, recently completed. Lord Auckland is entitled to the credit of having sanctioned an inquiry as to this great measure, although by the Afghanistan war he delayed for years its execution.

Roads,—good roads, passable at all seasons, are the second great check upon famine.¹ The

¹ Would any one see how these are perpetuated? Here is an extract from a Malabar letter, dated 1st September, 1857:—

"I have told you that we have here a positive famine. The officer commanding at Cannanore, sent me, ten days ago, a most urgent requisition for any kind of grain I could spare, 'the troops being in great distress.' I have been feeding the people of my own parishes from my store of paddy [rice]; but to keep the troops quiet, at this moment, I at once set apart for them 10,000 seers; more than I can conveniently spare. The quantity is but little for the supply of a cantonment and two dependent native towns, and the sea being shut against imports, the only other dependence for daily food was Coorg, thirty miles distant. Here there is plenty of paddy, *but the Ghaut road not being metalled, is impassable for carts at this season.* Undismayed by storm, and flood, and mud, the energetic Mapillas [Mussulmen]

Grand Trunk Road, which is to be 1,423 miles long, from Calcutta to Peshawur, had been commenced under Lord William Bentinck. It was pushed on under Lord Auckland. Under him, also, was commenced the great Bombay and Agra Trunk Road, 734 miles long, while the Calcutta and Bombay mail road was sanctioned. Do not, however, over-estimate these works. Only the Grand Trunk Road is metalled. In a map prefixed to Mr. M. Wylie's "Bengal as a Field of Missions," published in 1854, I find the Bombay and Calcutta road thus described:—"This road to Bombay is a mere track through dense and uninhabited jungles, abounding in tigers, and herds of wild elephants." From it branches out another, with the note, "This road to Madras is made of mud only." The Grand Trunk Road carries with it this significant remark, "The only road in the Lower Provinces,"—*i. e.*, road worthy of the name. And remember, that these "Lower Provinces" are those over which Clive gave us dominion, now more than a century ago, and which contain the capital of our empire.

have been making their way on foot to the Coorg bazars, and buying and bringing down on their heads all the grain they could carry. What do the Coorg authorities do? They *forcibly* expel these men from the country, and line the high road with guards, with positive orders to prevent a man from Malabar from entering it! I sent two of these Mapillas, yesterday afternoon, to the Tellicherry magistrate, a boy, a year in the country, and just arrived in the province as *head* assistant collector, the only authority in this part charged with the public peace. I could do nothing else; but what can his utter inexperience do? Refer to the collector, who is at Cochin, 150 miles off, and a week's post distant. Meanwhile the people are starving, their trade inland is put a stop to, and the collector is calling upon them, as *he* must do, to pay their revenue."

PART II. We must now pass on to another aspect of
History. Lord Auckland's Indian sway.

LECT. XIV. We have seen that from about the year 1829,
 great alarm began to be entertained in England at the progress of Russia towards the south-east. Much of this was owing to the efforts of a very singular man, of whom history will, perhaps, find it difficult to say whether he was the maddest among statesmen, or the most statesmanlike among madmen, Mr. David Urquhart, and perhaps not a little to his personal influence over King William IV. Hence the instructions which had been sent out from home to India, to extend British influence on the Indus; hence the treaties with the Ameers of Scinde, with the Nawab of Bahawulpore, with Runjeet Sing; hence the travels of Sir A. Burnes in Central Asia; hence the sufferance, if not encouragement, of Shah Sooja ool Moolk's unfortunate expedition to Afghanistan.

This latter country had passed from the sway of the Dooranees, whose great conquering monarch, Ahmed Shah, had defeated the Mah-rattas at Paniput (1761), under that of the Barukzyes. Shah Sooja, as we have seen, the representative of the Dooranee race, was a British pensioner at Loodiana. The only member of the royal race who retained any power in Afghanistan was Prince Kamran, a son of Shah Mahmood, Sooja's brother and rival, who remained, far to the west, in possession of Herat. Amidst internal dissensions, the extent of the empire became greatly contracted. Runjeet Sing seized Cashmeer, Attock, Peshawur, Mooltan; the Sultan of Bokhara occupied Balkh;

the Ameers of Scinde declared themselves independent. What remained was parcelled out between several brothers of the Barukzyes family, under a loose sort of subordination to one of them, Dost Mahommed of Cabool.

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There was a deadly feud between the Barukzyes and the Dooranees of Herat. Futteh Khan, father of the Barukzyes, while vizier to Mahmood, had first had his eyes put out by Kamran his son, and some months afterwards had been literally cut to pieces, joint by joint, and limb by limb, by Mahmood's orders, and in his presence. Herat lies at the western extremity of Afghanistan; to reduce it, the Barukzyes allied themselves with the Persians, and a large Persian force marched to besiege it, the Afghans undertaking to send help. Persia was at this time entirely under Russian influence; Russia was glad of any opportunity of extending that influence to the south-east. A Russian regiment accompanied the army, besides Russian staff-officers, and the Russian Envoy, in person. Another Russian Envoy made his appearance in Cabool, and was received with marked attention.

Every single event here mentioned took place far from the British frontier. Afghanistan, Persia were independent foreign States. Kamran had given Persia abundant cause for attacking him, having violated several engagements which he had entered into with that State, and having through his vizier invaded its territory, and carried away 12,000 persons, who were sold as slaves. Cruel and treacherous as we have found the Afghans to be, Kamran was the most cruel

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of any, his ferocity seeming at times almost insane. With Russia we were at perfect peace, and remained so throughout the operations that ensued. Yet on the ground of danger to our territories, through the advance of the Persian army, we declared war upon the Barukzyes.

Many years later, Lord Broughton (Sir John Hobhouse that was), President of the Board of Control, acknowledged himself the author of "what was certainly a folly, if not a crime,"—the Afghanistan war—an avowal tardy, indeed, in its candour, but creditable to the good nature of the speaker. It is, indeed, undoubted that the Court of Directors were strongly opposed to it, affording thus another instance of the fatal viciousness of our government of India. Of three powers, all having some influence over its proceedings,—the Board of Control, the Court of Directors, the Governor-General—one, the Court of Directors, who on this occasion were in the right, remained in office to carry out the wrong. They had a power which, ere long, they actually exercised: they could have recalled the Governor-General, if he ventured to put Sir John Hobhouse's plans into practice. But, just as about a century before, the Madras Government first protested against the unjust warfare which the Nawab of the Carnatic was about to undertake, and then, having protested, lent him their troops to carry it on, so now, the Directors disliked the Afghanistan war, and helped in it,—lent their names to carry it on. Again; a Governor-General has great powers of resistance to the home authorities. In the first place, he is thousands of miles away, which is a

great strength against them. In the next place, serving two masters, it is hard if he cannot use the one against the other. In this case, the two masters were actually at variance. Had Lord Auckland sided with the Court of Directors in opposing the war, it would never have taken place. He did not oppose it. There were ambitious, unscrupulous men about him, who urged him to it. There were family influences, it is said, which co-operated with them. For forty-eight hours he shut himself up in Government House at Simla. And then came forth that famous declaration of war against the Afghans (1st October, 1838), in the name of the so-called lawful ruler of their country, Shah Sooja ool Moolk, "whose popularity had been proved to his lordship by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities." (Strange popularity! established by two expulsions from the country, and soon to be sealed by murder, at the hands of his subjects.) "The welfare of our possessions in the East," said his lordship, "requires that we should have on our western frontier an ally who is interested in resisting aggression and establishing tranquillity, in the place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a hostile power," (*quære*, which of our two allies, Persia or Russia?) "and seeking to promote schemes of conquest and aggrandizement." Already had a treaty been concluded between the British Government, Runjeet Sing, and Shah Sooja, by which Runjeet was guaranteed in his possessions, and undertook to aid in restoring the Shah (June 26th, 1838).

But, as if to deprive us of the last shred of

PART II. rational pretext for the war, three weeks after
History. the issuing of Lord Auckland's manifesto (22d
 LECT. XIV. October, 1838), news came that Herat was free,
 and the Persian army in full retreat. An English officer, Lieutenant, afterwards Major Eldred Pottinger, had thrown himself into the town, and had turned to such good purpose the natural courage of the Afghans, that they had repelled the Persians with a loss of nearly 2000 men. The expedition now remained nakedly the invasion of a foreign country, with which we were at peace, for the restoration of a prince who had been twice expelled from it, and whom, for nearly the last thirty years, we had taken no pains to re-establish. A more shameless outrage upon the laws of nations never was perpetrated.

But this is not all. It was possible to invade Afghanistan through the territories of our ally, Runjeet Sing, which are conterminous with it to the northward. This was not deemed sufficient. It was resolved to send the bulk of our army through the territories of the Ameers of Scinde, —perfectly independent princes, with whom we had concluded treaties for the free navigation of the Indus,—treaties binding each party “not to look with a covetous eye on the dominions of each other.” If they refused to let us pass, we resolved to coerce them. Just as if, during the Russian war, the French and English had marched their armies straight through the Austrian and Prussian territories, simply because it suited them to do so.

The Ameers demurred at first to the proceeding, but soon yielded on coercion. A division marched on Hyderabad; the chief seaport

of the country, Kurrachee, was seized. We had recognised the Ameers as independent princes, by treating with them. But Scinde had been formerly tributary to Afghanistan; so, having set up the puppet and pensioner, Shah Sooja, as king, it was found convenient to obtain from him a cession of his rights of sovereignty over the Ameers. We now proceeded to deal with them as rebellious vassals. A new treaty was made¹, by which they acknowledged our so-

¹ The recently published Autobiography of Lutfullah, gives a striking account of the imposing of this treaty on the Ameers (22d January, 1839):—

“When the reading was over, the Beloochees showed great excitement. At this time a slight signal from their highnesses would have been sufficient to terminate the lives of all our party, under the swords of the barbarian and remorseless Beloochees, many of whom stood at our head with naked scimitars, in the same way as executioners do at the moment of the performance of their horrid duty. Meer Nour Mohamed first observed, in Beloochee, to his two colleagues, ‘*Cursed be he who puts reliance upon the promises of the Feringees;*’ and then, addressing himself seriously to the British representative, he spoke thus in Persian: ‘*Your treaties, I believe, are changeable at your pleasure and convenience; is this the way to treat your friends and benefactors? You asked our permission to allow your armies a free passage through our territories. We granted it without hesitation, depending upon your friendship under your honourable promises. Had we known that, after the entrance of your army into our lands, you would threaten our safety, and enforce another treaty upon us, demanding an annual tribute of 300,000 rupees (30,000*l.*), and a ready payment of 2,100,000 rupees, for the immediate expenses of the army, we would in such case have adopted measures for the security of our country and persons.*’ Captain Eastwick heard all this with calmness, and gave brief replies in Persian and Arabic proverbs, such as,—‘*Friends must aid friends in emergencies.*’ Meer Nour Mohamed smiled . . . and then, with a sigh, he said to Captain Eastwick, ‘*I wish I could comprehend the meaning of the word friend which you use.*’”—Pp. 294-5.

The Ameers, nevertheless, accepted the treaty; not surely

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vereignty, paid 300,000*l.* down, agreed to pay one-half of their revenue as tribute, and to maintain an auxiliary force of 4000 men. Not looking, of course, with any "covetous eye" on their dominions, we kept Kurrachee, and obtained further the cession of the fortress of Bukkur,¹ where a bridge of boats was constructed across the Indus, and General Nott led the first body of regular troops in the country to the west of that river,—hitherto the recognised boundary of India (February, 1839).

I shall not go into the details of this expedition; India's second foreign war. The country we had to pass through consisted of deserts, without water in some places, where the men fell by sun-stroke, where camels, horses, bullocks, perished by thousands; in some places of dense jungles, and lands which were flooded by damming up the rivers, so that the troops had to march through the water; of long and frightful passes, overhung by rocks on both sides. 70,000 camels were collected together for transport, all of which may be said to have perished. Now the camel is an animal of slow growth,—of slow multiplication, scarcely fit for work before five years, bearing one—or, at most, two—at a birth; and several years afterwards I was told that the drain of camels produced by the Afghan war was

from fear, as Meeanee was to show ere long, but apparently because their community of interest with us seemed so evident, that they could not believe we should ever make foes of them.

¹ "This fortress, so much praised by the Persian historians and Sindhees for its impregnability, was lent to the British authorities to keep their stores, &c., until the end of the campaign; but, as I anticipated, the loan turned out irrecoverable."—*Lutfullah*, pp. 312-13.

still quite perceptible, in the scarcity and enhanced price of the animal. Altogether, it must be pronounced to have been as insane an expedition as if the King of Sardinia, learning that Prussian troops were attacking Schaffhausen, were to march up the Alps for the occupation of Switzerland. If it served any purpose, it was to show what strong natural barriers God had placed to the westward of our empire, and how important it was for us to make of the Afghans friends and not enemies.¹

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You recollect, probably, that the first campaign, under Sir John Keane, was deceitfully successful. How far the Afghans were taken by surprise at our temerity,—how far they reckoned on the return-match of a retreat,—we cannot tell. The celebrated fort of Ghuznee was stormed (27th June, 1839). Shah Sooja was enthroned; Sir John Keane made a peer; Lord Auckland, an earl: Dost Mahommed eventually surrendered (November 3rd, 1840), and was sent to Shah Sooja's house, at Loodiana.

During the preparations for the first Afghan-istan campaign, a rebellion had broken out (1838), requiring the presence of troops, for the fourth time in nine years, in Sawunt Warree, a small tract on the western coast, adjacent to the

¹ The Afghans and Persians have a mutual hereditary hatred, as belonging to the two opposed Mahommedan sects; the Afghans are Soonnees, the Persians, Sheeahs. No alliance between them can, therefore, possibly be of any duration.

But, indeed, the whole war,—the championing of Shah Sooja, the enforcing of his waste-paper rights against the Ameers, recalls painfully the dealings of the Madras authorities—in the Carnatic in the days of Clive, or those of the Bengal authorities with the Emperor of Delhi.

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sea and to the Portuguese settlement of Goa, cut with gorges and bristling with forest. It arose, no doubt, from the oppressions of the chief, secure of British protection. The district was placed temporarily under British authority. It was exercised with a reckless, ruthless hand, amidst wholesale condemnations and butcheries, ending by a massacre of prisoners. Sir Charles Napier complains of the leniency of Indian courts-martial. In this case the officer in command, though acquitted of murder, was dismissed the service, and the Political Resident removed. But discontents were not allayed, and soon broke out into fresh insurrections.

In the interval between the first and second expeditions to Afghanistan, an event took place in the south, which I believe has led to the gravest consequences, and which has been most assiduously misrepresented by the East India Company and its supporters.¹ It will be recollected that during the second Mahratta war the legitimate chief of the Mahratta people, heir of Seevajee, had been established, by Mr. Elphinstone's advice and Lord Hastings' sanction, in the sovereignty of Sattara. This has been called "drawing him from a prison;" and the metaphor has absurdly been built upon as a fact. The prison was the castle of Sattara, furnished with gardens, riding-grounds, ornamental water, and a pension of 5,000*l.* a year from the Peshwa, who, moreover, always addressed the Prince as his "humble subject and servant." By a treaty of

¹ The details of the Sattara affair are chiefly drawn from the reports of proceedings at the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company.

the 25th September, 1819, perpetual sovereignty was guaranteed by the Company to the Raja, Pertaub Shean, his sons, heirs, and successors. He was then a youth of between nineteen and twenty. Sixteen years after (1835), the Court of Directors voted him a sword in testimony of their admiration for the way in which he had governed the country, accompanying it with a letter (29th December, 1835), which spoke of his "exemplary fulfilment of his duties," of his having "uniformly" pursued a course of conduct "calculated to promote the prosperity of his dominions and the happiness of his people;" of the "liberality" which he had displayed "in executing, at his own cost, various public works of great utility." Four years later he was deposed.

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It was said of him, by one of the Residents of his court (but who always strongly opposed his deposal), that he was "tenacious of his prerogative," and inclined "to extend his connexions beyond the limits assigned by treaty." What is certain is, that he evinced a strong opposition to Brahmin influence, which had already, in the person of the Peshwas, reduced his ancestors to mere ciphers, and so drew upon him the unrelenting opposition of that body. In other words, he followed that line of policy which, of all others, was the most to be encouraged in a native ruler, the most conducive to the safety of our Indian empire. But he had the misfortune to offend the Bombay Government by resisting certain awards of the Company's courts for the resumption of some jagheers or estates secured to him by treaty, and still more by obtaining a

PART II. decision in his favour from the Court of Directors
History. at home. Between Brahmin enemies and offended
 LECT. XIV. English officials, his doom was sealed from
 henceforth.

In December, 1836, a Brahmin writer prepared a petition to the Bombay Government, bringing, in a third person's name, charges of treason against the Raja, which reached Bombay on the 6th March, 1837. The charges were chiefly those of communicating with other native Governments; also of tampering with sepoys, and endeavouring to open relations with the Portuguese authorities at Goa. The latter charges were purely futile, and were given up.¹ The seals on documents purporting to emanate from the Raja were afterwards proved to be spurious. The writer of the petition eventually declared that he had been hired by another Brahmin in high employ at Sattara, Ballajee Punt Nathoo, to write it, and repeatedly applied for leave to prosecute him for bribery, offering security for costs. His forged petition was considered a sufficient ground for proceeding against the Raja; his repeated applications for leave to prosecute his brother Brahmin, and undo as far as he could the wrong which he alleged himself to have committed, were rejected, although he eventually involved the Resident, Lieutenant-Colonel Ovens, in his accusations, swore to the truth of them, and delivered in a statement of the different facts which he undertook to establish, and of the

¹ "As President of the Board of Control, I knew that these charges were brought against the Raja of Sattara; but to say that I believed them, is what the honourable gentleman has not the slightest foundation for saying."—Sir John Hobhouse, House of Commons, 23d June, 1842.

evidence which he would bring forward in support of them.¹

A secret inquiry was instituted against the Raja. Communication of the evidence brought against him was refused to him, and to his dying day he never saw it. At last, Sir James R. Carnac, the Governor of Bombay, came to Sattara, offering him a continuation of his sovereignty if he would confess his guilt. The Raja refused. Pending the inquiry, he had already offered to surrender up his territory to the British Government. He told Sir James Carnac, as the latter has himself related, that "he would consent to everything, except to abandon his religion, or acknowledge that he had been our enemy." He again offered to give up everything, if the Government would but give him a trial. He offered to remain in the Resident's house, never to re-enter his capital till his innocence should be established. All was refused. We laugh at our English law sometimes for encouraging a man to plead not guilty who is willing to confess his guilt. To extract a plea of guilty from a man who protests that he is innocent, is not law, but torture.

The Raja was, by acknowledgment of the Company itself, a very able ruler. His country was prosperous, his capital wealthy, his public treasury well filled; his palace contained, besides, between 300,000*l.* and 400,000*l.* of private treasure, besides plate, jewels, and articles of value. His troops were faithful, his people attached. Before dawn, at two A.M., on the 4th September,

¹ See the "Case of Krishnajeo Sudasew Bhideo," Effingham Wilson, 1845.

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PART II. 1839, Colonel Ovans, the Resident, marched a
History. large body of European and native troops to the
 LECT. XIV. palace, expecting resistance. There was none.
 The Raja had given orders that the palace should
 be open to the Resident by night as well as by
 day. He had disarmed all his troops, unloaded
 every gun, had water thrown upon the gunpowder
 in his magazine. Colonel Ovans, and a few other
 officers, went in. They found the Raja asleep,
 took him away half-naked as he was, hurried
 him off eight miles in a litter, and put him in a
 cow-shed to finish his night's rest. Every shilling
 and atom of his private treasure and property
 were confiscated. Notwithstanding his ruin, no
 fewer than 1,200 of his subjects voluntarily fol-
 lowed him to Benares, his place of exile, 900
 miles off. His cousin and heir presumptive was
 taken ill on the road, and a halt was besought.
 Lieutenant Cristall, the officer in charge, refused
 it, and some hours afterwards the sick man was
 found dead in his palanquin. His brother, Appa
 Sahib, an incapable, dissolute prince, was raised
 to the throne on acknowledging it forfeited. A
 new treaty was entered into (5th September,
 1839), the British Government proclaiming itself
 to have "no views of advantage and aggrandize-
 ment."

This is, then, the first part of that "Sattara case," of which we heard so much at one time, which was voted such a bore by the House of Commons and the *Times*. It is simply this,—that the ablest and most exemplary native prince in India was hurled from his throne and robbed of all his property, because he refused to confess himself guilty of crimes which he denied, on

evidence which he never saw. We might be very glad to hear no more about it. But do you suppose that the princes and people of India have forgotten the matter ?

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Shortly after the deposal of Pertaub Shean of Sattara, an event took place which tended further to shake native confidence in the good faith of British protection. You remember in old days how the pirate Angria had established a little state of his own; how his chief fort, Gheriah, had been taken by Admiral Watson and Clive in 1756. Descendants of his had continued to rule in the petty state of Colaba, under the supremacy of the Peshwa. On the extinction of the power of the latter, the British, as succeeding to his rights, entered into a treaty with Ragojee Angria of Colaba, guaranteeing, on the usual conditions of subserviency, "to him and his successors," the "integrity of his dominions." He died, having adopted a child for his son, under sanction of the Bombay Government. The child died under age, and permission was applied for to adopt another as heir. The permission was refused; the territory was treated as having escheated for want of heirs male, although there were numerous members of the Angria family lawfully capable of succeeding, besides illegitimate children of the late prince, in existence. In vain were memorials presented against the resumption; it was the first time, it was pleaded, that the British Government had taken possession of an ally's territory, except on the ground of treachery or alleged hostility. The right of adoption, under sanction, was claimed under the Hindoo law. But all remonstrances were pushed

PART II. *History.*
 LECT. XIV. aside, the country placed under a civilian, the Company's salt monopoly introduced, the private stock of horses, camels, buffaloes, bullocks, and deer of the late Raja sold by auction. The territory was a small one—its whole frontier line not more than thirty miles—its revenue between 30,000*l.* and 40,000*l.* But the precedent once established was too valuable not to be followed up (1840).¹

But the British Government had enemies, though the Raja of Sattara might not be of them. India was in many places very unquiet. Disturbances took place at Poona. Thirty or forty of the leading men in the Nizam's country, his brother at their head, were found to have been conspiring; the prince was confined at Golconda. The Nawab of Kurnoul, 920 miles to the south, was implicated, and a force put forth to reduce him. In his fort were found a shot and even a cannon foundry, and warlike preparations which must have been long carried on. Another force had to be sent against the Raja of Jodhpore, to compel his observance of his treaty. But the Mussulmen were felt to be our worst enemies. The advance of Christian armies west of the Indus seemed to have alarmed Mahommedan fanaticism throughout Asia. Aden, in the Red Sea, which had been bought from the Sultan (1839), could hardly maintain itself against perpetual attacks of the Arabs.

Then came the Cabool catastrophe. Shah Sooja was soon found to be as destitute of popularity as he was incapable of acquiring it.

¹ This case is detailed in a pamphlet, published by Smith, Elder & Co., in 1841.

As the friend of the unbelievers, he was now worse hated than ever before. Sir William McNaghten, the envoy, deemed all tranquil and prosperous. On the 2nd November, the insurrection broke out. We had scarcely any but incapable commanders. Sir Alexander Burnes and Sir William McNaghten were both assassinated. After wretched insincere negotiations, in which there seems ground for believing that Sir William McNaghten had planned part of the treachery which was practised against himself, that fearful retreat began (6th Jan., 1841), in which, of 4,500 soldiers, amounting with camp followers to nearly 12,000, besides women and children, one man—Dr. Bryden—reached Jellalabad (13th Jan.), where Sale gallantly held out, as Nott at Candahar, and another officer at Khelat-i-Ghilzie. Lord Auckland hurried away from India two months later (12th March, 1842). He was not the man to quench the fire which he had kindled. For the most fearful disaster that the English arms had ever experienced, he was rewarded by being placed at the head of the Admiralty by his Whig friends.

We have seen that Lord Broughton, with some amount of reckless good nature, eventually (1851) proclaimed himself responsible for the Afghan war, though he made India pay its expenses. But it is impossible to acquit Lord Auckland of his share of responsibility. Allowing for the urgings of those who surrounded him—men greedy of that easy glory which is won for you, at least in part, by the arm of the private soldier, rather than of that more difficult fame which is attained by hard work and self-sacrifice, in undertakings

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of internal improvement ; it is but too clear that the Afghanistan war was only one of a group of transactions,—those with the Ameers of Scinde, the Raja of Sattara, the Colaba State,—of which the guilt must lie mainly with the Executive of India.¹ Lord Auckland, indeed, in the Sattara affair, expressed to the last his opinion that the Raja should be made aware of the charges against him. But he was too weak to enforce justice, and therefore injustice was carried out.

Lord Auckland was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough, twice already President of the Board of Control, under Tory Governments ; a man full of knowledge about India, and unquestionably one of the ablest governors it has ever had ; but fond of military glory, and apt to become intoxicated with it.

Even his resolute spirit, however, quailed before the appalling disaster. Runjeet Sing was dead, and the temper of our Sikh allies could scarcely be reckoned on. Shah Sooja was still, after the massacre of his English supporters, in nominal sovereignty at Cabool. Lord Ellenborough declared that the British Government could no longer pledge itself to enforce the tripartite treaty. He gave orders to withdraw the forces from Jellalabad,—where Sale was relieved by Pollock on the 16th April,—and from Candahar, where Nott had been joined by fresh troops, under England (9th May), notwithstanding divers imbecile performances on the part of the latter. But Nott and Pollock both demurred to

¹ Our territory was further increased by those of Loodiana, Ferozepore, Jaloun, near Gwalior, and a few others, described as having “lapsed,” from 1836 to 1840.

the order, and eventually received a discretion as to their movements. What follows is well known, Pollock advanced on Cabool, Nott on Ghuznee, both of which places were re-occupied. The citadel of Ghuznee and bazar of Cabool were destroyed. All the British prisoners were recovered. From Ghuznee were brought back the sandal-wood gates, taken 1000 years before, by Mahmoud of Ghuznee, from Somnath. Lord Ellenborough's address to the native princes on this occasion, which occasioned much ridicule in England, is said to have produced great effect in India. On the 17th Dec., 1842, the returning troops were met at the Indus in triumph by the Governor-General.

But Lord Ellenborough had warlike work cut out to his hand, by a man after his own heart. The luckless Ameers of Scinde, once our independent allies, now, by the grant of Shah Sooja (whose cause we had by this time abandoned), and by force of our own will, our dependent tributaries, were uneasy at our neighbourhood, our marchings and counter-marchings through their territories, our occupation of Kurrachee. They began intriguing to get rid of us. They were 160,000*l.* in arrear of their extorted tribute. Sir Charles Napier was sent to Scinde with troops as Commander-in-Chief, with full political power. A new treaty was proposed; the Ameers were to be relieved from subsidy, on surrendering not only Kurrachee, but Tatta and three other towns, a strip of land on each side of the Indus, and the right to cut wood for the steamers on the banks. The Ameers were men of a very different calibre from the deposed Raja of Sattara. The representatives of a conquering race, the Beloochees,

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they cared for little but their pleasures and their hunting-grounds, stretching to the banks of the Indus, which were threatened by our demands. They objected, prevaricated, signed the treaty, plotted, at last attacked Major Outram, the Resident, at the Residency, near Hyderabad, their capital,¹ and, after a gallant resistance, forced him to retreat. Then, with 22,000 men, they took up a position at Meeanee, within six miles of Hyderabad, waiting for reinforcements. With 2,800 men and twelve guns, Sir Charles Napier attacked them. Of this number, 500 men, forming the 22nd Queen's regiment, were the European portion. The fight lasted three hours. The crisis of the battle was a charge on the rear flank of the enemy of "the superb 9th Cavalry of Bengal, and the renowned Scinde Horse," as Sir Charles Napier afterwards described them. 5000 Beloochees were killed and wounded,—250 of the English (17th Feb., 1843). Six of the Ameers surrendered the next day, and the city of Hyderabad. A second battle had, however, to be fought a month later (24th March), at Dubba, four miles from Hyderabad, where the bravest of the Ameers, Shere Mohammed (the Lion), with 25,000 troops, took up a strong position behind a watercourse, consisting of two parallel ditches, one twenty feet wide and eight deep, the other forty-two wide and seventeen deep. With 5000 men Sir Charles again defeated them, with a loss of 8000 men against 270 of his own. Scinde had already (12th March) been declared annexed to the British territories; Meer Ali Morad, of Khyrpore, one of the Ameers, who held by us, receiving an increase of his own.

¹ Not to be confounded with that of the Nizam.

Sir Charles Napier was named Governor of Scinde, and his rule was in the main admirable. His first acts, almost, were the suppression of slavery, and of the transit duties on the Indus. But a bitter controversy unfortunately rose up between him and Colonel (now Sir James) Outram, the late Resident, in which the most flagrant charges were bandied from side to side, and, in course of time, almost justified themselves, each party seeming to deem himself discharged of all obligation to deal fairly by the other, or observe any common courtesies towards him.


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Lord Ellenborough and his military favourites soon found or made for themselves new opportunities of victory. The only remnant of Mahratta power, properly so called, lay with Scindia, whose capital, it will be remembered, was now at Gwalior, at the northern extremity of his dominions. The State was under a child, adopted by the widow of the late sovereign, called the Maharanee (the very case which we refused to acknowledge at Colaba). The Dada Khasgee Walla, who was in power, committed various acts which the British Government considered as hostile ; amongst other things, withheld a letter addressed by it to the Maharanee. This was treated as a usurpation of sovereignty, the Dada was required to be given up to British authorities, and troops were ordered to advance into the Gwalior territories, to protect the person of the Maharaja, quell disturbances, and punish the disobedient. (December, 1843).

The Mahrattas had not called us in, and very naturally wished to get us out. But they were taken unprepared, and needed time to concen-

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 trate their troops; so they tried to gain it by negotiations. Active hostilities were resolved upon. Two armies had invaded their territory. Two battles were fought the same day (29th Dec.)—at Maharajpore, by Sir Hugh, afterwards Lord Gough; at Punniar, by General Grey. The forces were more equally matched in the former than has been usual in our Indian battles. We had 14,000 men against 18,000; but they had 100 guns to our 40, and occupied a strongly intrenched position, and their troops were commanded by Europeans and half-castes. We won the day, as usual, by sheer valour, capturing their guns, which were admirably served, by a rush of infantry. The Mahrattas fought desperately, losing between 3000 and 4000 men, or about one in five; we lost 797. Lord Ellenborough was present on an elephant. The last Mahratta power was now crushed. Scindia's army was disbanded, and a British contingent raised, which has since, like almost all the other subsidiary forces, joined our own troops in their mutiny. The expenses of the campaign were paid by the Mahrattas. Order was considered as restored.

Soon after this, the Court of Directors committed themselves to an unwonted act of authority. In spite of the Board of Control, they suddenly recalled Lord Ellenborough. He had, no doubt, thwarted and snubbed them in almost every conceivable way, and as one who from long experience well knew how to do so. They had borne with Lord Auckland, when he entered upon the disastrous Afghanistan war, which they so strongly condemned. Personal affront from

Lord Ellenborough was more than they could brook.¹

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I have the highest admiration for the statesmanship of Lord Ellenborough. Still, it is clear to me that he did but continue that unscrupulous policy which Lord Auckland's underlings forced upon the latter, and which has helped to bring our empire to the brink of ruin. The unprovoked Gwalior campaign has, I doubt not, been one main cause of the late universal defection of the troops in the Northern Mahratta States. In one notable instance, he gave an example of that spoiling of our native pensioners, which the Indian Government has been too apt to practise. It will be recollected, that many native princes had been induced to surrender their sovereignty in consideration of a pension. Such pensions, being in exchange for perpetual rights of sovereignty, were presumably perpetual ones, just as the Duke of Grafton's annuity charged upon the Post Office, and various others which have been extinguished in our days. The only way in which ministers in this country have ever dreamed of extinguishing the like charges on the public revenues, has been by buying them up for a round sum. Not so the Indian Government. The pension of the Nawab of Surat was confiscated, apparently for no other reason than that there were rival claimants to it.² In other cases, failure of heirs, under whatever might be our Government's own interpretation of laws and treaties, has been a sufficient plea; and any

¹ I may just recall here the part taken by Indian troops in the Chinese war of this period.

² See, for instance, Lutfullah, pp. 370 and following.—The territory of Kythul "lapsed" also in 1843.

PART II. arrears have mostly been confiscated with the
History. pension itself. This, in plain English, as between
 LECT. XIV. you and me, is robbery, by whatever other names
 politicians may choose to call it, when perpetrated upon men of other colours and languages.

Lord Ellenborough's wars allowed him little leisure or money for internal improvements. He began by stopping the progress of the great Ganges canal; and when afterwards he reverted to the subject, directed that it should be primarily a canal of navigation, thus utterly falsifying its main purpose, that of fertilizing the soil and preventing the recurrence of famine. As respects Dekoitee, indeed, vigorous measures were taken. Membership of a gang of Dekoits, either within or without the Company's territories, was made of itself punishable, and prisoners convicted in native States by a tribunal in which a European covenanted servant was one of the presiding judges, were rendered liable to imprisonment within our own territories.¹ But he slackened the work of Thuggee suppression, recalling valuable officers who were employed upon it. As respects suttee, he "expressly declined to sanction an offer made by the *Chargé d'Affaires*, at Hyderabad, to procure from its Mahommedan ruler a prohibition of the rite" (1842).² Still the impulse to good which had been given under Lord William Bentinck's rule had not worked itself out. Where good men found themselves face to face with evil, they attacked it. Infanticide, checked somewhat in Cattywar, was found

¹ Acts xviii and xxiv. of 1843. See Kaye's "*Administration of the East India Company*," pp. 404-5.

² "*Widow Burning*," by H. J. Bushby, p. 21.

prevalent in other provinces. A valued relative of mine, Mr. Unwin, collector of Mynpoorie, in the North-Western Provinces, whilst engaged in lowering the assessment, in consequence of the then late famine, and in taking a census for the purpose of measuring the ravages which it had caused, discovered, that in a tribe of Rajpoots, not a single female was forthcoming, and instantly commenced, on his own responsibility, a system of periodical inspection of female children, which produced the best results.¹ And in outlying districts the work of improvement was effectually going on. This was the period of Dixon's great achievements among the Mairs, of the full reclaiming of the Bheels. A yet more remarkable aboriginal tribe had been also met with. In Orissa, military operations for the reduction of the zemindaree of Goomsur, had first brought us, in November, 1837, in contact with those Khonds of whom I spoke in my second Lecture, and who had hitherto remained independent. The "refractory zemindar" took refuge among them. We demanded that he should be given up. The Khonds refused to do so. They were attacked and subdued. But amongst those employed in the campaign, was Captain, afterwards Major Macpherson, who in 1841 was appointed by Lord Elphinstone, then Governor of Madras, special agent in Goomsur. He succeeded in winning the confidence of the Khonds, learned from them the details of their strange social organization, urged on them the abolition of human sacrifices in particular, and by dint of

¹ See Raikes's "Notes on the North-Western Provinces," p. 18.

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various measures of social improvement, so won their confidence, that by May, 1844, he was able to report to the Madras authorities, that in the Khond country of Goomsur itself there was no longer any apparent tendency to sacrifice.¹ There were, however, other tribes addicted to human sacrifice in the hill districts of Orissa, which were under the Bengal Government, amongst whom the work had yet to be carried out.

I cannot pretend to any great admiration for Lord Hardinge, who succeeded Lord Ellenborough. I think Sir Charles Napier, who knew him well, and liked him, judged him rightly when he said, "His ambition is unbounded ; and though he would have faced the Directors fearlessly, and the press too, any day in the week, if it suited his purpose, he did not, because his ambition is to glide into elevation : *he has wound and will wind like a serpent up the pillar of fame.*"² That ambition, I believe, by leading him to oust Lord Raglan from the commandership-in-chief, for which he was admirably fitted, and to thrust him by way of compensation into the command of the Crimean war, for which he was not fitted, was one of the main sources of our disasters in the first half of that war. Still, by comparison with the two Governors-general who last preceded him, and the one who next

¹ The mode in which he obtained the consent of the tribes to the abolition of human sacrifice, was peculiar. They were permitted, at their own request, "to denounce to their gods the British Government in general, and certain of its servants in particular, as the grand authors of their apostasy."—*Kaye's "Administration of the East India Company,"* p. 507. So deeply rooted is the idea of vicarious sacrifice in the minds of these people.

² "Life of Sir Charles Napier," Vol. IV. p. 205.

succeeded him, Lord Hardinge's rule of India was a creditable one to his country.

Sir Henry Hardinge (for Ferozeshahur and Sobraon were yet to win him his peerage) installed himself in his office (23d July, 1844) emphatically as a peace-governor; busying himself with roads and railways, encouraging education, forming military libraries. One of his early educational measures is celebrated. A minute of his (10th October, 1844) promises a preference, "in every possible case," in the selection of candidates for public employment, to those who had been educated in the Government schools or in those founded by private individuals and societies, and especially to the more distinguished scholars. We are told, however, that the Council of Education did its best to spoil this measure, by basing their test entirely upon the educational system of the Government colleges; in other words, by seeking to confine the privilege of admission to public office to the clever infidels whom they themselves turned out.

But the state of things was ominous of coming troubles. Several native regiments of the Bengal service mutinied, by the fault, as Sir Charles Napier declares, of Colonel Moseley, of the 64th, who was dismissed the service. In the South Mahratta country a double insurrection broke out in Sawunt Warree and in Kolapore,—again arising from oppression and speculation, those of a Brahmin named Dajee, who had been made by our influence regent of Kolapore. He was frightened when the warlike hill-chiefs of the country flew to arms; but the British agent forbade him to yield, while the rebels had arms

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PART II. in their hands; by sheer force must they be put
History. down. So British troops were called in. Yet,
 LECT. XIV. operations were mismanaged. Three hundred
 wretchedly equipped men held a hill-fort for
 weeks; a battering-train, which reduced it, took
 twenty-one days to traverse thirty miles. When
 at last, after months of desultory skirmishing,
 the British Commissioners, Colonel Outram and
 Mr. Reeves, offered an amnesty, the hill-chiefs
 refused to submit. They caught hold of Colonel
 Ovans (him of Sattara), who had been named by
 the Bombay Government to supersede the other
 two, and detained him for some time as a hostage,
 but were foolish enough eventually to release
 him unconditionally. Their chief fort, hitherto
 deemed impregnable, was stormed (1st December,
 1844); but the insurgents escaped to those of
 Sawunt Warree, who were devastating the Concan,
 and being good gunsmiths and good marksmen,
 kept three brigades at bay for several weeks. At
 last Outram took the field with a light corps of
 1,200 men, and though ill seconded by the regu-
 lars, in six weeks cleared the country; the chiefs,
 however, escaping into Goa, where they were
 henceforward kept under *surveillance*. Efficient
 political agents were placed in Kolapore and
 Sawunt Warree.

And now broke out the most terrible struggle
 in which we had ever been engaged since the rise
 of our Indian empire,—a struggle for that empire
 itself.

You will remember, in my early Lectures, the
 few words that I said of the Sikhs, that singular
 instance of a sect which has become a nation.
 Founded by the peaceful communist and prophet

Nanuk, towards the end of the fifteenth century, it had been ruled after him by other holy men or *Gooroos*, whose doctrines were recorded in holy books called *Grunth*. The ninth *Gooroo* having been put to death by Aurungzebe, his son Govind, the tenth, entirely changed the character of the sect from peaceful to warlike, swearing eternal hatred to the Moslem on the one hand, and on the other renouncing the Brahminical thread, the division of castes and trades, and almost all principles and practices of Hindooism still subsisting amongst his followers, except the veneration of the cow.¹ They established themselves in the Punjab, after many a fight with Moslem and Mahratta, under a government essentially aristocratic, but which became despotic under a great leader, Runjeet Sing, born in 1780. By means of European officers, French and Italian, who had served in the wars of Napoleon,—Allard, Court, Ventura, Avitabile,—he succeeded in forming a magnificent army, second only in Asia to the British, and scarcely second to them.

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Runjeet Sing, as I have said before, knew our power, and remained our ally till his death (30th June, 1839). The State now fell into a condition of complete anarchy, between legitimate and illegitimate sons and grandsons of Runjeet, queen-mothers, favourites, and ambitious ministers. The army became more and more powerful. There were mutual causes of jealousy between them and us. The chiefs had urged Shere Sing, the sovereign at the time of the return from Cabool, to fall upon us. The British agent on the Sutlej had proposed to march on Lahore with 1,200 men to restore order. The Calcutta

¹ See Vol. I. Appendix C. p. 296.

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papers teemed with plans for conquering the Punjab. The Governor-General was willing to use force, if desired by the majority of the Sikhs themselves. The Lahore Government was so afraid of its own army that it deemed the dispersion of that army by means of an English war, its only chance of retaining power. They therefore encouraged it, and shortly after the 17th November, 1845, the troops began marching in detachments from Lahore towards the Sutlej. It was long believed that they would not cross it. But on the 13th December, Sir Henry Hardinge had positive information that they had done so, and issued a proclamation of war, annexing all Sikh territory on the left bank of the river. Lall Sing, the Vizier, and paramour of the queen-mother, wrote to Captain Nicholson, the political agent: "I have crossed with the Sikh army. You know my friendship for the British. Tell me what to do." Nicholson answered, "Do not attack Ferozepore. Halt as many days as you can, and then march towards the Governor-General." Lall Sing did so, and Ferozepore was saved. Had he attacked, our garrison of 8000 men would have been destroyed, and the victorious 60,000 would have fallen on Sir Henry Hardinge, who had then but 8000.¹ So utterly unprepared were we, that even this treachery of one of our enemies scarcely sufficed to save us.

Battle was offered before Ferozepore by Sir John Littler, and refused. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, was, on the 11th, at Umballa. By double marches, on alternate days, the troops traversed, with much suffer-

¹ See Sir Charles Napier's Correspondence, Vol. IV. p. 669.

ing, 150 miles in seven days, and reached the village of Moodkee (18th December). The British troops were exhausted, and very inferior in numbers to the Sikhs, who had 15,000 to 20,000 infantry, and the same number of cavalry, with forty guns. The battle was won, as usual with us, by the bayonet; the British infantry capturing seventeen guns. The loss was nearly 900 killed and wounded, including two generals, one of them Sale of Jellalabad. But the victors were so weakened, that they needed two days before they could march again. Being now reinforced by Littler from Ferozepore, Sir H. Gough, with 16,000 men, marched upon the Sikhs intrenched at Ferozeshahur, to the number of from 48,000 to 60,000 men, with 108 heavy guns. The battle began late in the afternoon (21st December). Again the attempt was made to carry the guns at the point of the bayonet. Before it was wholly successful night fell, and both armies passed the night on the battle-field. The Governor-General placed himself under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, and took the command of the left wing. All were exhausted; the sepoy nearly useless from thirst. The Sikh fire was so terrific, that the weaker British guns were blown into the air. Yet, after a while, the British were masters of the field. All was not over, however. With fresh troops, Tej Sing, the Sikh commander, renewed the attack. The ammunition of the British was exhausted, when suddenly the threatening—or imagined threatening—of cavalry attacks on the Sikh flanks made them desert the field. The English loss in killed and wounded was

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2,415, or more than one in eight,—a fearful proportion, it was then thought. 78 guns were taken. A Sikh division threatening Loodiana, Sir H. Smith was sent after it. There was a good deal of able manœuvring this time on the Sikh side, and at Buddeewal the baggage of the English was cut off, with a loss of about 100 killed and wounded. At Aleewal, however, Sir H. Smith attacked the Sikhs (28th January, 1846), the forces being very nearly matched,—11,000 on the English side, and 15,000 on the Sikhs. The village of Aleewal itself was held for the latter by battalions of hillmen, indifferent to the Sikh cause, and who fled in confusion after a straggling volley. After a gallant resistance on the part of the Sikhs themselves, the English again carried the day; taking the enemy's camp, with fifty-two pieces of artillery. All the forts on the left bank at once surrendered.

Still, the main body of the Sikhs were on the left bank, on British territory, intrenched at Sobraon; their number being, the despatch states, 35,000; their lines, however, showing no trace of scientific skill or unity of design. They were attacked, by Sir H. Gough, on the 10th February; the British troops being formed in a semicircular line, instead of in column, so that every shot of the seventy pieces of Sikh artillery told upon them. The fight was most determined: no Sikh asked for quarter. The rout was at last complete; and hundreds perished in crossing the river. The loss on the English side in killed and wounded was 2,383.

On the night of the victory, Sir J. Littler crossed the Sutlej; and, on the 13th, Sir Hugh

Gough, with the bulk of the forces, was thirty-two miles from Lahore. 20,000 Sikh troops still kept together, but without provisions or munitions of war. It was agreed that Goolab Sing, one of Runjeet Sing's generals, who was considered a favourite with the English, should go and make terms. The surrender in full sovereignty of the Dooab, or mid-river space between the Sutlej and Beas; the payment of 1,500,000*l.* for war expenses; the re-organisation of the army (no further force being raised without British consent); the surrender of all guns used against the British; full powers to the Governor-General to regulate both the frontiers and the internal organisation of the country: such were the English conditions. They were accepted. Dhuleep Sing, the boy-king, came out to meet the army, and was required to submit before he was received. He was conducted to his palace by British regiments,—no Sikh soldier being allowed to enter Lahore; and the Governor-General proclaimed his intention of protecting the Maharaja and his subjects. Sufficient money not being forthcoming from the Sikh treasury, Goolab Sing—"the most thorough ruffian that ever was created,—a villain from a kingdom down to a halfpenny," as Lord Hardinge described him to Sir Charles Napier,—paying down 1,000,000*l.*, was vested with the sovereignty of Cashmere and the hill States from the Beas to the Indus, paying tribute to the Company as his suzerain. This scoundrel had conquered Cashmere some years before for Runjeet Sing: by his own account (which is said to be the only reason for

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doubting the story, his "passion for flaying people alive being well known"), he "took 5000 prisoners, skinned all the chiefs alive, half skinned the others, that is, so as not to kill them outright, and sent them to die at their villages."¹ The Cashmerians very naturally demurred to receiving him as their sovereign; and a British force, under Brigadier Wheeler, had to be sent to enthrone this creditable tributary of ours. Lall Sing, the vizier (as a reward for betraying his countrymen to the English, I suppose), was dismissed; the Government was to be administered at Lahore, by a Council, under British superintendence, during Dhuleep Sing's minority, which was to terminate in 1854.

Beyond the annexation from the Punjab of the Jullunder Doab, I do not remember any other annexation taking place during Lord Hardinge's rule, except that of the small principality of Mandavie, in Cutch, confiscated on the plea of failure of legal heirs. I do not know the particulars of the transaction. The Danish settlements were also bought up in 1845.

The remainder of Lord Hardinge's rule was peaceful. He had greatly to reduce the army, and to reduce the expenditure. Still, his administration was marked by several useful steps and undertakings. The Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Benares was completed. 20,000*l.* a month was spent on the Ganges canal, begun by Lord Auckland, suspended by Lord Ellenborough. The work of encouraging education was resumed and efficiently carried on in the favoured North-West. In 1845, a circular had

¹ See Sir Charles Napier's *Life*, *passim*.

been issued to the revenue collectors¹, calling their especial attention to the subject of education, and pointing out that the new revenue settlement would afford an incentive to its promotion. The preparation of village school-books was commenced. Mr. Thomason, the able Governor of the North-Western Provinces, proposed endowment by grants of land, in conformity with immemorial Hindoo usage, of schools in every considerable village (1847). The Court of Directors preferred the plan of money stipends to schoolmasters;—easier, perhaps, to be cut down or suppressed. Eventually, the plan of model-schools, as centres of visitation,—leaving the village-schools self-supporting, but rewarding deserving schoolmasters,—was considered preferable, and a partial experiment sanctioned (1850). This last measure belongs, however, to Lord Dalhousie's rule. To Mr. Thomason, also, belongs the credit of an admirable institution for the future development of the resources of India, the College of Civil Engineering, at Roorkee; of which he published the prospectus in 1847, and which was opened in 1848. The Medical College of Calcutta had now become popular; and the free-minded Dwarkanath Tagore had offered (in 1844) to provide for the education, in England, of two students at his own expense. Four were sent home; among them a Brahmin convert, Goodéve Chuckerbutty.

Against the two evils of infanticide and suttee

¹ I cannot help calling attention to this fact, which painfully shows what a primary matter is *revenue* in British India. Imagine such a circular being addressed in England to the collectors of assessed taxes!

PART II. was finally dealt, under Lord Hardinge, the
History. severest blow that had yet been struck. In all
 LECT. XIV. civil matters, the Rajpoots take the lead of all
 their brother Hindoos,—those especially of the
 States which have retained their national independence under British protection; they follow no other example; all are willing to follow theirs. My cousin, Major, now Major-General Ludlow, political agent at Jyepore, one of the Rajpootana States, entered upon a plan for the abolition of female infanticide, of which the first example had been given by Colonel Hall, among the Mairs. Observing that the chief source of the crime lay in the expenses of the wedding, and, above all, in the exactions of the *Bhatts*, or bards, who would lampoon a churlish father throughout the country, he sought to cut it off at its root.¹ Single Rajpoot princes had, from time to time, tried to remedy the evil by sumptuary laws; but, for want of concert, these had proved powerless. Major Ludlow, forbidden at first by the English Government to use direct solicitation towards the chiefs, obtained nevertheless, after awhile, from the Jyepore regency (the Raja was a minor), a proclamation de-

¹ In the first paper of Mr. Raikes's "Notes on the North-Western Provinces," will be found an interesting account of "Infanticide in the Doab,"—i. e., among the northern Rajpoots—showing various other causes at work in the same direction; such as the curious social inferiority of the father-in-law to the son-in-law, which is especially galling to the pride of the Rajpoot, and the singular limits within which a daughter in a Rajpoot race must be married,—in the same caste, but not in the same subdivision, and only in one of equal or higher rank; so that a father may have literally to purchase at a high price a son-in-law, by whom afterwards he will be treated almost with contumely, and from whom it would be disgrace for him to accept even a meal.

nouncing the crime, and specifying that a tithe of the father's annual income was to be the utmost lawful limit of largess to the bards; the only lawful claimants, moreover, being those of the district itself. This was enforced; an "incursion of foreign bards" was successfully resisted. Similar edicts were issued by the other States; and a current of public opinion setting in, the chiefs began to refuse payment to their own bards, except upon the special authority of the Durbar, or Supreme Council. These men, once the terror of Rajpootana, are said now not to dare to enforce the payment of their admitted dues. The great incentive to infanticide has been taken away.

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Major Ludlow now turned his attention to suttee. Again he was expressly forbidden from taking any open steps, and worked at his own peril. Aided by the Finance Minister of the Jyepore Court, member of a tribe which forbids all destruction of animal life, and is, therefore, on principle, opposed to suttee, he so worked upon the High Priest by arguments drawn from the holy books, from principles of Hindoo faith, from considerations of national honour, that the latter publicly put forth a document declaring that the self-immolation of widows was less meritorious than their practice of "the living suttee of chastity and devotion." Notwithstanding his death, the leading nobles gradually declared in favour of suttee abolition; small tributary provinces issued enactments against it; the State of Jyepore openly declared it penal (August, 1836),—an event which Lord Hardinge caused to be notified in the Govern-

PART II. ment Gazette,—and before Christmas of that year
History. the Governor-General was able to announce the
 LECT. XIV. prohibition of suttee by eleven out of the
 { eighteen Rajpoot Principalities, and by five out
 of the remaining sixteen free States of India.
 The event, trifling as it may seem in itself, was
 a momentous one as an instance of progress in
 the Hindoo mind, amongst its proudest repre-
 sentatives,¹—progress realized by influence and
 argument alone, and even in the teeth of official
 opposition on the part of Major Ludlow's own
 superiors.²

The same means were taken against infanticide
 in a province of the Bombay Presidency, Ahmed-
 abad, where it had been discovered to exist, by
 Mr. Fawcett, in 1847,—viz., agreements to re-
 duce marriage expenses. But whether there is
 less sense of honour amongst our subjects than
 amongst those who are only protected by us, or
 not, it would seem that these were not sufficient
 to effect the end, and that their working has to
 be checked by censuses. About Mynpoorie,
 Mr. Unwin's measures were taking fruit. In
 1845, a letter of congratulation and dress of
 honour were sent by Government to the Raja
 of that place, on the birth of a daughter, the
 first in the race *for several centuries!* The num-

¹ See, as to these matters, Mr. Bushby's "Widow-burning," and Mr. Kaye's "Administration of the East India Company."

² It is a remarkable fact that, whilst the Rajpoots have suffered themselves to be ruined by wedding expenses, the Brahmins in their immediate neighbourhood most rigidly limit these expenses, as well as the amount of marriage portions. They have, of course, no temptation to kill their daughters, and are otherwise as prosperous as the Rajpoots seem to be declining.—*Raikes's "Notes,"* pp. 29-30.

ber of female infants preserved in the district was trebled the next year, and went on from thence steadily increasing; so that whereas in 1843 not one female "Chohan" infant was to be found, in 1850 there were 140 girls living between the ages of one and six.¹

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Macpherson had found his labours amongst the Khonds greatly impeded by the fact, that no steps for the suppression of human sacrifice were being taken by the Bengal Government, as respects those tribes that were within its territory. In 1845, he was appointed agent to the Supreme Government for the suppression of human sacrifice and infanticide throughout the hill tracts of Orissa. In Goomsur, the entire body of the Khond tribes assembled for the simultaneous abjuration of human sacrifice, and for the adoption of the worship of Boora Pennu, the god of light, whose peculiar worshippers henceforth fraternized with them. The tribes of the great Boad district, within the Bengal territory, were struck by the improved condition of their brethren in Goomsur, and by the fact of two unusually healthy seasons, and two unusually abundant harvests, taking place in spite of the outrage put upon the Earth-goddess. So they bade her farewell by a great sacrifice of 120 victims, and declared that they had done with her. Still there were a number of consecrated victims remaining; the Rāja of Boad was found, moreover, opposed to the abolition. Eventually, a rebellion broke out, of which I do not know the details. Macpherson and his whole staff were dismissed, and a string of

¹ Raikes's "Notes," p. 21.

PART II. charges brought against him, by General Dyce;
History. and although honourably acquitted, he was not
 LECT. XIV. restored to office. His successor, however, Col.
 Campbell, carried on the work successfully, and
 human sacrifice may be said to be generally
 suppressed among the Khonds, and on the verge
 of extinction everywhere.

I cannot conclude the record of this period without mentioning that in the year 1839 was formed the first organization in this country for Indian Reform. The British India Society, founded in 1839 (July 6th), at a meeting in Freemasons' Hall, held under the Presidency of Lord Brougham, was the first body which attempted to make the responsibilities of England towards India a national question. It committed the great fault of attempting to carry public opinion by storm through the agitation of public meetings, instead of slowly training it by the circulation of weighty documents. It was sneered at by the *Times*, which had made use of the communications of its Secretary, Mr. William Adam, in the first series of articles on India in that paper which ever showed the least comprehension of the subject. It was dogmatically rebuked by Mr. Mangles in the *Edinburgh Review*. But its work was not fruitless. The deep and earnest interest which the working classes in particular, throughout a large portion of England, took in its proceedings, showed that it had truly struck a national chord in their hearts. And though its most genuine workers have remained unnoticed,—though its chief speaker, after being carried to the House of Commons by a trium-

phant majority in the Tower Hamlets, forgot when there who he was, and whence he had come, let slip from his hands the great subject which he seemed fairly to have grappled, and has sunk ever since as those shall ever sink who, having put their hands to the Lord's plough, look back—though all this took place, the name of this society should not be forgotten in any history of British India. For the branches of it which sprang up in India are still alive, and comprise the most intelligent and energetic members of the native population.

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Latterly, indeed, the efforts of Indian reformers were, in great measure, concentrated upon the lamentable case of the Raja of Sattara, in the endeavour to procure, not, indeed, so much his restoration, as the mere opportunity for him to justify himself. Every English officer who had been resident at his court—his deposer, Colonel Ovens, of course, excepted—came forward to avow the firm conviction that he was innocent, and absolutely incapable of the delinquencies laid to his charge. A noble-minded minority among the Directors maintained the same view. But the friends of the Raja committed the fatal error of carrying on the discussion in an arena where it could reach no possible result,—the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company, where the Directors rule supreme; thus giving a factitious importance to a body which is a mere screen and sham. The concentration of effort upon this one case, moreover, damaged it with the public. The very monstrosity of the wrong made it difficult to be believed, difficult to be undone. Each successive Governor-General

PART II. shrank from setting himself in opposition to his
History. predecessors on the subject. And when the
 LECT. XIX. officer, to whose charge the Raja was consigned
 at Benares, Colonel (then Major) Carpenter, stated, in a letter to the Governor-General's Secretary (25th May, 1846), that he had "carefully studied the whole of the voluminous documents connected with his case, and the result was a belief in his innocence;" and that this belief had been "confirmed beyond a doubt by subsequent disclosures, and by his pledging himself to prove it . . . and which pledge," said Major Carpenter, "I am fully persuaded he is able to redeem;"—by this letter,—for the like of which, in the case of any ordinary felon, any governor of a gaol in England would be thanked by the Home Secretary,—Major Carpenter only earned to himself a rebuke from Lord Hardinge. His declaration of his belief in the Raja's innocence was termed "unbecoming and uncalled for." No inquiry was instituted as to the new evidence which the Raja offered to bring forth. The Raja's wife had already fallen a victim to the climate of Benares. His own health was sinking fast. In spite of Major Carpenter's warnings on the subject, he was left to die. He did die, in October, 1847,—protesting to the last that he was innocent, offering to prove his innocence. With this evil deed Lord Hardinge's name is inseparably connected.

LECTURE XV.¹

THE ERA OF AGGRESSION AND ANNEXATION.

PART II. LORD DALHOUSIE (1848-1856).

Lord Dalhousie's Annexation Policy—The Siege of Mooltan—The Second Sikh War—Chilianwalla and Goojerat—Annexation of the Punjab—Annexation of Sattara—Sir Charles Napier Commander-in-Chief—State of the Bengal Army—The Kohat Pass Expedition—The Mutiny—How a Governor-General "snubs" a Commander-in-Chief—Sir Charles's Return to England—Bajee Rao's Death—Trial of Jotee Persad—The Second Burmese War—Annexation of Pegu—Annexation in Scinde—The Eusofzye Disturbances, and Sir Colin Campbell's Resignation—The Russian War—Mussulman Fermentation—Annexations in the Nizam's Territory—Annexation of Nagpore, &c.—Internal Measures: The Ganges Canal—Electric Telegraphs—Railways—Financial Measures: Conversion and New Loans—The Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal; Mr. Halliday—The New Charter of 1853—Publicity of Debates in the Legislative Council, &c.—Educational Measures—Infanticide Suppression in the Punjab—Dekoitee Suppression Measures—The Torture Inquiry and Report—Outram and the Baroda Briberies—The Sontal Insurrection—The Annexation of Oude—Lord Dalhousie's Departure.

IN January, 1848, Lord Hardinge was succeeded by Lord Dalhousie; of whom his present incurable state of ill-health, any more than his acknowledged abilities, cannot hinder me from saying, that I look upon him as the most un-

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¹ For want of better authorities, the latter portion of this Lecture has had to be compiled in great measure from newspapers,—chiefly the *Spectator*, the *Indian News*, and the *Friend of India*.

PART II. scrupulous Governor-General that has ever ruled
History. over India, since the days of Warren Hastings;
 LECT. XV. and the one of all others who has done most to
 weaken our power, under colour of consolidat-
 ing it.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the great warlike operations of his rule, I would wish to show what was the key-note upon which much of his whole system of administration was based.

"I cannot conceive it possible," wrote Lord Dalhousie in 1848, "for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of any just opportunity for consolidating the territories that already belong to us, by taking possession of States which may lapse in the midst of them; for thus getting rid of these petty intervening principalities which may be made a means of annoyance, but which can never, I venture to think, be a source of strength for adding to the resources of the public treasury, and for extending the uniform application of our system of government to those whose best interests, we sincerely believe, will be promoted thereby."—"I take this fitting opportunity of recording," he wrote again, "my strong and deliberate opinion, that in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside or to neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory, or revenue, as may from time to time present themselves."

Annexation, on every "just opportunity," of every intervening State that "may lapse" in the midst of our territories, is, then, to be Lord Dalhousie's policy. I need not here discuss whether, in principle, it is a right or a wrong one. I feel convinced, on looking around us at the present day, that it is at least premature to apply it. The "petty intervening Principalities" of Pattiala and Jheend are surely, in the midst of the present mutiny, a very effective "source of strength for adding to the resources of the public treasury." Englishmen and Englishwomen

have suffered far less within the dominions of Holkar and Scindia, even in the midst of mutiny, than in lately annexed Oude or the Punjab, or in Rohilcund and the other districts ceded under Lord Wellesley. I feel astounded indeed, when I see a Governor-General, after a few months' tenure of office and acquaintance with the country, proclaim dogmatically that he "*cannot conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy*" of annexation, when I recollect that Sir Thomas Munro deemed that, "even if all India could be brought under the British dominion," it was "very questionable whether such a change, either as it regards the natives or ourselves, ought to be desired;" that Sir John Malcolm was "decidedly of opinion that the tranquillity, not to say the security, of our vast Oriental possessions," was "involved in the preservation of the native principalities, which are dependent upon us for protection;" that it appeared to Mr. Elphinstone "to be our interest, as well as our duty, to use every means to preserve the allied governments," and also "to keep up the number of independent powers;" that Sir Henry Russell deemed the sphere of our danger to be "necessarily enlarged by any enlargement of our territory." Was it in ignorance of these statesmen's opinions,¹ or from contempt for them,

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¹ See No. 4 of the "India Reform" Tracts—"The Native States of India" (Saunders and Stanford). Lord Ellenborough himself said that he would "avoid taking what are called rightful opportunities of appropriating the territories of native States," and was "satisfied that the maintenance of the native States, and the giving to the subjects of those States the conviction that they were considered permanent parts of the general government of India, would materially strengthen our authority."

PART II. that Lord Dalhousie penned, in his first year of
History. office, his dogmatic sentence?

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But at any rate the opportunity for annexation must be a "just" one. Now it is a fixed principle of English law, that a man cannot be judge in his own cause. An immense deal of litigation was spent some years back in our Courts upon the question, whether the circumstance of a Lord Chancellor holding as executor some shares in a canal company, which was party to a suit before him, was not thereby disqualified from taking cognisance of the matter. Now, inasmuch as it is the British Government of India which is benefited by annexation, it is contrary to all justice that it should be judge in this its own cause. The question, whether a native principality has lapsed, is strictly a question of law. Justice,—even-handed English justice,—cannot possibly be attained in annexation, until that question at least has been fairly decided by an independent court of law. Even beyond that there may be higher questions of equity and policy, which should require the cognisance of some other tribunal than that of the interested party. If, indeed, the strong man should take upon himself to be judge in his own cause,—a perilous venture at the best—we are, not entitled, but bound to require of him the most rigid adherence to every form of justice, the most resolute weighing of every argument against his own interest.

We shall see how Lord Dalhousie fulfilled these conditions. He soon found work ready-made to his hand.

The hereditary governor of the rich province of

Mooltan for the Sikhs, the Dewan Moolraj, a Hindoo of low-caste origin, whose capital was the strongest fort in India, had come to Lahore in November, 1847, to resign his government, because, he said, the people would no longer pay him the taxes. A second time he repeated the expression of his wish, and it seems difficult to believe that he was not sincere. He had accumulated a very large treasure ; he was not liked by the Sikhs ; he no doubt thought it wise to save his hoard in time. A young Bengal civilian, and a lieutenant of the Bengal Fusiliers, Vans Agnew and Anderson, were sent to receive his fort from him, accompanied by Sikhs only. Moolraj made no sign of resistance, handed over the keys, let them place sentries. But as they were leaving, unarmed, two of Moolraj's soldiers pushed Vans Agnew off his horse ; a scuffle ensued, and eventually the two Englishmen were hacked to pieces,—their escort being bribed and proving faithless. It is difficult to believe that the affair was preconcerted ; and indeed, Moolraj fled at first, but, stimulated by his followers, he turned against the English officers, received the oath of fealty from all his soldiers ; and on Vans Agnew's head being brought to him, reproached the Sikh commander of the escort, who was weeping over it, for his sympathy with foreigners (19th April, 1848).

Vans Agnew had had time to write both to the Resident at Lahore, and to Lieutenant Edwardes, at Bunnoo. The latter hurrying to the spot, at least prevented the spread of insurrection. The Sikh Government, applied to by the Resident, professed itself unable to coerce Moolraj. Not-

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PART II. withstanding the most urgent representations,
History. Lord Gough, Commander-in-Chief, and Lord
 LECT. XV. Dalhousie, both concurred in thinking it unwise
 to move up British troops in the hot season
 against one of the hottest places in Upper India.
 Lieutenant Edwardes alone remained to check
 Moolraj, who, however, did not venture upon an
 attack. Edwardes raised a body of Mussulmen ;
 was supported by 4,000 Sikhs under Van Cort-
 landt, a Sikh officer who had entered our service ;
 was promised reinforcements from the Nawab of
 Bahawulpore. The right bank of the Indus was
 by this means quieted ; but to prevent the junction
 of the Bahawulpore troops, 5,000 in number,
 Moolraj sent 7,000 men. Edwardes kept him at
 bay for seven hours at Kineyree, until Cort-
 landt's troops came up, when the Mooltanees
 were defeated with great loss. The allies then
 marched on Mooltan. Moolraj came out against
 them with 11,000 men, but was again defeated
 at Suddoosam.

The conduct of affairs was, however, soon taken
 out of the hands of the gallant youngsters, Ed-
 wardes, and his more modest, but probably no
 less able comrade, Lake, now in command of the
 Bahawulpore force, to be placed in those of an
 officer of respectable age, General Whish, with
 regular troops ; a regular siege was prepared to
 be commenced, and a regular siege-train sent for,
 and the regular delays experienced in waiting for
 it. The besiegers were now nearly 28,000 men,
 including a body of Sikh troops under Shere
 Sing. But before the siege-train arrived on the
 4th of September, Shere Sing's father, Raja
 Chutter Sing, Sikh Governor of the Hazareh

province, in the north-west of the Punjab, had revolted (August), and it was evident that a new Sikh war was impending. A first attack on Mooltan failed with great loss (4th September). A second pushed the British posts within battering distance, though not without much slaughter on both sides (12th September); but before further operations could be undertaken, Shere Sing and his troops deserted to Moolraj (14th September). This gave the latter 15,000 men, while the whole force under General Whish was only 20,000, of whom 13,000 were irregulars. The chief engineer reported the forces insufficient for a siege. It was raised (15th September), and the retreat was even attacked by some of Shere Sing's cavalry, but Cortlandt's guns soon dispersed them.

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Matters were very unquiet at Lahore. In May, a conspiracy had been detected, and three of the leaders, including a general and a confidential agent of the queen-mother, had been executed. She herself was taken to Ferozepore, thence to Benares (2nd August). There was a combination against the English, in which it was sought to include Dost Mahommed and Goolab Sing. The latter gave good words to both sides; the former raised and marched an army, hoping to recover Peshawur, his ancestral burying-place. In the Hazareh, in Attock, the British political agents could scarcely hold their ground. Shere Sing issued proclamations appealing to the patriotic and religious feelings of the Sikh people; tampered with our irregulars and Sikh auxiliaries. The only way by which desertion could be checked, was by Edwardes's promising the treat-

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ment of British soldiers to all of Cortlandt's men who should hold by us. But by means of a sham letter to Shere Sing, between whom and Moolraj jealousy was known to exist, Edwardes so wrought upon both, that Shere Sing marched away with his troops, and Moolraj was glad to pay him for the purpose (9th October). Shere Sing joined his father, though they soon divided again their forces. Moolraj sent agents requesting the Sikh troops to come and aid him ; but they were no longer inclined to do so, and all their forces now joined Chuttur and Shere Sing. Shere Sing was within sixty miles of Lahore by the 20th of October. Peshawur was handed over to Dost Mahommed by Chuttur Sing.

However, the Mooltaneees alone were getting stronger, and in November they were able to besiege the English, to bombard the camp for five days, and (even after the desertion of 220 of Cortlandt's men) to attack the lines, 8th October ; though they were driven back to the fortress, with the loss of many men and five guns. For nearly a couple of months, nothing more was done.

Meanwhile the great army of the Punjab was assembled under Lord Gough. On the 18th November, the proclamation went forth that it would "not return to its cantonments until the full punishment of all insurgents had been effected, all armed opposition to constituted authority put down, and obedience and order re-established."

The first affair of the campaign was as senseless as it was disastrous. At Ramnuggur a cavalry attack was made by order of the Com-

mander-in-Chief, on an island and a strongly fortified position. The most gallant charges were unavailing, and General Cureton (a brave soldier, who had risen from the ranks) and other officers were killed (November 22), the total loss being about 230. A more successful, though not decisive affair was that at Sadoolapore, where General Thackwell attacked and caused Shere Sing to fall back (3rd December).

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Reinforcements were now sent to Mooltan. A division of the Bombay force from Scinde joined it (21st December). Colonel Cheape, who had been at Bhurtpore, was sent as chief engineer. There were now nearly 15,000 regulars, including 3000 cavalry, with ninety-seven guns, sixty-seven of heavy siege calibre. Moolraj had about 12,000 men. On the 25th, the Bengal division resumed its old position, and the siege was re-commenced on the 27th. Operations were at last vigorously conducted, positions stormed, sallies repelled, the fort shelled. The principal magazine, containing 400,000 lbs. of powder, was blown up, carrying with it the great mosque of the town, and killing 500 men (30th December). On the 2nd January, 1849, breaches were practicable. On the 3rd the city was won, but the fort remained, Moolraj endeavouring to treat. On the 4th he surrendered unconditionally. He was eventually tried for the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson, and found guilty, though recommended to mercy as the victim of circumstances, and imprisoned for life. Cruel as was his subsequent conduct, it is impossible, as I have said, to believe that there had been premeditation in the act. He could gain nothing

PART II. by murdering a lieutenant and a young civilian :
History. he had everything to lose. Probably, as a powerful
LECT. XV. chief, he, and still more his soldiers, felt
insulted by the sending of such representatives
of the British arms, accompanied, moreover, only
by their own countrymen. When once the
scuffle ensued, the temptation must have been
almost irresistible to strike down the overbearing
young foreigners. There are modes of receiving
submission which inevitably provoke resistance.

The grim work of the second Sikh campaign
had, meanwhile, been going on in earnest. On
learning that Attock had been taken (3rd January,
1849),—notwithstanding a gallant resistance,—
many Afghans co-operating with the Sikhs, and
that Chuttur Sing was advancing to join Shere
Sing, who had between 30,000 and 40,000 men
and sixty-two guns, Lord Gough resolved to
attack.

This was the battle of Chilianwalla (13th
January), which it pleased the Commander-in-
Chief to represent as a complete victory. If it
was so, it was certainly not thanks to those who
directed the battle ;—crowding up the corps
together, and actually placing cavalry in front
of horse artillery : “a case,” as an old officer,
Colonel Hough, drily says, “for which perhaps
there is no parallel in military history.” The order
to charge and take the enemy’s guns was given
at too great a distance, so that the natives not
being able to keep up with the Europeans, one-
half of the Queen’s 24th was killed, with Brigadier
Pennycuick and many officers. The right brigade
of infantry had thus to retire ; the right brigade
of cavalry got into confusion, and running off in

a panic, upset four of the horse artillery guns behind them in their retreat. The battle raged until night; and though the English remained in possession of twelve Sikh guns, out of many more that they had captured, the Sikhs, on their side, took five stand of colours and four English guns. The carnage was very severe—that on the English side amounting to 2,357.

At any rate, so little decisive was the battle, that for a whole month the armies remained in position. On the 12th of February the Sikhs drew out their cavalry outside their camp, as if for an attack. But it was, in fact, a retreat. The English were now strengthened by Whish's joining with the cavalry and part of the infantry from Mooltan. The Sikhs were prevented from marching on Lahore; but having been joined by Chuttur Sing and his forces, and by 3000 Afghans under a son of Dost Mahommed, they encamped themselves at Goojerat, to the number of 60,000 men, with sixty-nine pieces of artillery. We were 25,000.

The Sikhs were attacked (Feb. 21). This time the frightful sacrifice of life, which had hitherto attended my Lord Gough's "glorious victories," was avoided. Brigadier-General Tennent, Commandant of Artillery, urged a three-hours' cannonade, and his proposal was carried out. The remaining Sikh guns were mostly of small calibre, and though these were well served (they fired, it is said, habitually, thrice to our twice), the terrible English cannonade from ninety-six guns—ten eighteen-pounders to one Sikh—made their troops fall back. The whole English army now advanced, and for the first time the Sikhs fled, thoroughly routed, leaving camp, ammunition,

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stores, baggage, and fifty-three guns, and were pursued from mid-day until dark. The loss on our side was a few over 800,—a little more than one-third of Chilianwalla. Sir Walter Gilbert took up the pursuit; the English prisoners were recovered, and, finally, at Rawal Pindee, he received the surrender of Chuttur Sing, Shere Sing, and the whole body of the Sikh army. Forty-one guns were given up, and 16,000 stand of arms, afterwards increased to 20,000. The horsemen were allowed to keep their horses, and a rupee was given to each soldier. 158 guns had been captured in the campaign, with a loss of about 4,500 men. The first Sikh campaign cost us about 6,250.

Gilbert now pursued the Afghans to the Indus, recovered Attock, crossed the Indus, and, finally, recovered Peshawur, destroying the Sikh cantonment, whilst Dost Mahommed was making a hasty retreat into Afghanistan.

Dhuleep Sing was an infant; his minority was only to end in 1854. We were his declared protectors. On our last advance into his country, we had proclaimed (18th Nov., 1848) that we came to punish insurgents, and to put down "all armed opposition to constituted authority." We fulfilled that pledge by annexing his whole country within six months. On the 24th March, 1849, the kingdom of the Punjab was declared to be at an end; the child, our *protégé*, was pensioned off; all State property confiscated to the Company, the celebrated diamond, the Koh-i-Noor, surrendered to the Queen. In other words, we "protected" our ward by taking his whole territory from him.

If it was right to annex the Punjab, it should

have been after the first Sikh war. Then the Sikhs were the aggressors; we had no pledges towards the boy-sovereign; we were entitled, having conquered them, to make what terms we pleased. The quick eye of Sir Charles Napier saw this; he bitterly censured the blunder. But having once recognised and undertaken to protect Dhuleep Sing, it was a mockery to punish him for the faults of his subjects. As between us and him, in putting down insurrection, we were simply fulfilling our duty towards him. No such act on the part of his subjects could give us any title against him. Fancy, if you can, a widow lady with a houseful of mutinous servants, who turn out and attack the police. The police knock them on the head, walk into the house, and kindly volunteer to protect the mistress against any violence on their part. A quarrel again breaks out, the truncheons are again successful, and the inspector now politely informs the lady that her house and the estate on which it stands are no longer her own, but will be retained in fee simple by the police; that, on turning out, she will receive an annuity, equal to about one and sixpence in the pound of her rental; and that she must hand over for the use of the chief commissioner her best diamond necklace. Is this an exaggerated version of our conduct towards that innocent boy Dhuleep Sing, now grown into a Christian gentleman?

Such were my Lord Dalhousie's notions of British justice, in the way of annexation—views since deliberately sanctioned by the British Government, by the British Parliament, by the British Crown.

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I am bound indeed to say that wisdom was shown in the settlement of the Punjab. Civilian rule was not established ; the defence of the country was entrusted in great measure to twelve irregular corps, instead of the regular sepoy regiments, hated and in great measure despised by the Sikhs. Hence the quiet of the Punjab during the present mutiny. How long it will last, we cannot tell.

Meanwhile, Lord Dalhousie had had occasion to apply his principles of annexation in another field.

You remember that the deposed Raja of Sattara, Pertaub Shean, had died in 1847. It now happened that his brother, who had been set on the throne in his place, died also (1848). Both princes had exercised the Hindoo right, necessary for the due performance of obsequies, of adopting a son,—Appa Sahib only on his death-bed ; Pertaub Shean, the dethroned prince, some time previously, and in favour of a son of his late nearest male heir. Now the treaty by which the deposed Raja was enthroned (25th September, 1819), provided that “ His Highness’s sons and heirs and successors are perpetually to reign in sovereignty over the territory.” The treaty concluded with his brother on his deposal (5th September, 1839), declared that the British Government “ having no views of advantage and aggrandizement,” had “ resolved to invest the brother and *next in succession* to the Raja with the sovereignty of the Sattara State ;” confirming, moreover, the former treaty, so far as it was not abrogated. Now it is in accordance with all principles of justice, that such a treaty should be

construed according to the principles of the country where it was entered into. The words, "heirs" and "successors," must mean "heirs" and "successors" according to Hindoo law. It is stated by all Orientalists that I am aware of—amongst others, by Major Graham, late chief interpreter and translator of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay—that the word used for "heirs" in the native version of the treaty is one which notoriously includes adopted sons. At any rate, the word "successors," in our own familiar law language, as applied to the Crown, includes as notoriously all who may succeed to the throne, whether heirs to it or not. William the Third was thus "successor" to James the Second, though certainly not his heir. And in the particular house of Seevajee, succession by adoption had taken place on two occasions.

One would think, therefore, that the only question as to the succession to the throne of Sattara would have been as between the adopted sons of the two late princes. But even supposing the adoption had not taken place, there were numerous collaterals who could claim heirship. The father of the lad adopted by the deposed Raja was, as I have said, his nearest male heir. In a minute of Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay (30th January, 1837), this person had been treated as the natural successor. "The Raja is himself guilty," Sir R. Grant wrote; "but there is no evidence of guilt on the part of his brother, or cousin, who, after him, are in the immediate line of succession." As to the cousin in particular, he had added: "He is the near relation of the Raja, and supposing the Raja and the

PART II. Raja's brother set aside, *the proper representative*
History. of the family." Mr. Frere, the Resident of Sattara
 LECT. XV. at the time, wrote that no claimant would venture
 to put forward his own claim against the adopted
 sons of either of the late Rajas; but that there
 were many of them who might have asserted
 their claim, but for the adoption, and who would
 "be able to establish a very good *prima facie* claim
 in any court of justice in India." Sir George
 Clerk, Governor of Bombay, declared in his
 minute that the terms of the treaty "ordinarily
 seemed to mean a sovereignty which should not
 lapse for want of heirs, so long as there was any
 one who could succeed, according to the usages
 of the people to whom the treaty referred," and
 that the lad adopted by the late Raja was a suc-
 cessor within these terms.

In the teeth of all these facts, Lord Dalhousie
 annexed the Sattara territory. In a minute of
 the 30th August, 1848, he held that the words
 "heirs and successors must be read in their
 ordinary sense," and could not "be construed to
 secure to the Rajas of Sattara any other than
 the succession of heirs natural;" consequently,
 that "we ought to regard the territory of Sattara
 as lapsed, and should incorporate it at once with
 the British dominions in India."

Now the slightest consideration will show that
 "natural heirs" is not synonymous with "lineal
 heirs," which would be necessary for the purposes
 of my lord's argument. Whilst if so, the assertion
 that "heirs and successors" in their "ordinary
 sense" mean only lineal or even, in the wider sense,
 natural heirs, is one which would astound a law
 student in his first year, and would certainly, if

correct, deprive her Majesty of a large portion of her privileges and possessions, which she enjoys as "successor" to sovereigns of whom she is certainly not the heir. And finally, the investiture of Appa Sahib, the first Raja's *brother*, with the sovereignty as "the next in succession," in 1839, shows as clearly that collateral succession to the throne had been formally recognised in this very case by the British Government.

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This, then, was Lord Dalhousie's view of a "just opportunity" for annexation. I do not hesitate to say that there is not a county court judge in England who would not pronounce the whole proceeding illegal and void, if brought before him.

The examination of this matter may have seemed tedious to you, disproportionately lengthy. But it was a momentous one. It was the carrying out on a larger scale of the fatal precedent of Colaba, the deliberate invasion, for our benefit, of a recognised rule of Hindoo law. There was not a Hindoo family whose property it did not threaten, still less any native sovereign before whose feet it did not open a gulf. And coming as it did, as the last act of a series of incredible outrages upon justice—for there is not a native in India, nor, I believe, five persons in the world, who believe now that the deposed Raja was guilty—it could not fail to produce the most painful sensation among the princes and people of India. We know that at the present day the South Mahratta country is the chief seat of discontent in Southern India. The affections of the people still cling round the deposed Raja's adopted son.

One observation of Lord Dalhousie's, in his

PART II. minute on the annexation, deserves to be noticed.
History. "I am unable," said he, "to admit the force of
 LECT. XV. the argument advanced by Sir G. Clerk for its
 continuance" (*i. e.*, that of the Sattara State),
 "which is founded on the happy and prosperous
 condition of the State, and the just and praise-
 worthy government of the Raja." Meaning, in
 other words, "I see no wisdom in the adage,
 'Let well alone.'" Let us bear this passage in
 mind when we come to the annexation of Oude.

A year or two of comparative peace now
 ensued. Sir Hugh Gough was succeeded as Com-
 mander-in-Chief by Sir Charles Napier, whom the
 public voice unanimously called for on the first
 news of the sanguinary and ill-directed battles of
 the second Sikh war. "If you don't go, I must,"
 had said the Duke of Wellington; and with many
 misgivings, the irascible old veteran went forth,
 to meet, in the person of a clever young Scotch
 lord, with one who was to be as absolute towards
 himself as he was towards others. He found
 the troops in a deplorable state. Already, after
 Ferozeshahur, he had written of Lord Hardinge's
 army that it was, "for discipline, the worst he had
 ever seen." The men who went on guard sent
 their beds to the post and went to bed. "There
 were no piquets or patrols, not even when close
 to and in sight of the enemy." The army, "from
 its state, could not manœuvre;" it was "un-
 manageable;" with his 15,000, he wrote, he "would
 have marched round it." Three years more of
 Irish rule had not improved it. In reviewing
 the troops, he found commanders of regiments
 unable to bring them into line, regiments charg-
 ing without being ordered, and with loud shouts;

men discharging their firelocks straight in the air, or even to the rear. In the whole course of his service, as he declared in one of his racy general orders, he "never before witnessed such a scene." In six months he had to decide forty-six cases of courts-martial on officers, some for gambling, some for drunkenness, in which only two were honourably acquitted, and not less than fourteen cashiered. The events of his command, indeed, though few and unimportant comparatively in themselves, foreshadow in such a striking manner much of what we have seen lately come to pass, that it seems worth while to dwell on them in some detail. He found our army "scattered like pepper from a pepper-box over the land,"¹—so the present mutiny has found it. One great reason of this was, that in the Punjab alone "somewhere about 1,800 men" were employed as guards of honour to commissioners and assistant commissioners, and over treasuries "from sixteen to one hundred miles distant from any military station,"² sometimes in the most unhealthy spots. "If the civil power," he wrote, "is allowed to look to the military for protection against robbers, and ordinary difficulties of government in time of peace, it becomes weak and inefficient. . . . A military guard is seen at every town, all seems secure, idleness pervades the civil power, neglect of duty follows, and want of vigour becomes universal. The same thing ensues with the troops. Discipline becomes slack, officers on detachment are idle, soldiers insolent and disobedient, guards do their duty slovenly or not at all, and the whole becomes weak and worthless. . . . The troops

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¹ *Life*, Vol. IV. p. 203.² *Ibid.* pp. 173, 176.

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being at the call of the civil power, the commander can have no system, and when a rising takes place, nothing like a proper distribution exists, and they are in a fair way to be overpowered and destroyed.”¹ Precisely the same cause militates against our operations at the present day.²

He found an omnipotent military board (since, indeed, abolished), careless about the health or comfort of the soldier, or even about his equipment. The engineer department was nominally under the command of the Commander-in-Chief, but works were stopped by order of the Civil Government, direct to the engineer. The bread and meat were bad at Umballa, “because the military board put the whole contracts up to auction, and at such a price that the contractors could not keep their contracts;”³ much as, for the sake of a trifling economy, occasion was given for an out-

¹ Life, Vol. IV. p. 175.

² “Whatever the Civil Service and its merits may be at other times, I say not; but at present there is no doubt that the civil servants operate as a clog on military movements,—100 men here, 50 men there, applications from all parts; and the service, strong in Council, leads to want of energetic system in the military department of the State. Troops are frittered away at the call of (sometimes) boy-civilians; and throughout there is a direct antagonism to military views, wishes, and principles.”—*Letter from Benares, Aug. 29th, 1857, in the Homeward Mail, for Oct. 16, 1857* (p. 738). “They are waiting in Cawnpore for reinforcements, and I think they will have to wait some time; for though troops are arriving in Calcutta daily, still, as they are sent up the country, magistrates and others delay them for the better protection of the stations on the river; but unless General Havelock gets more troops to his assistance, I fear it will be a second Cawnpore business.”—*Letter from a Non-commissioned Officer of the 78th Highlanders, from Allahabad, Aug. 21st, 1857; ibid.* p. 736.

³ Life, Vol. IV. p. 184.

break which has convulsed all India, through the use of objectionable grease. Making a tour through the Punjab, in one place he found that an examination of the barracks left "no wonder at the sickly state of the men; in rooms badly ventilated and only twelve feet high, they put 142 men—only 94 men should have been in these barracks, at the most."¹ At a second place, amidst fine mountain scenery, the soldiers were sickly, the barracks "infamous." Calculated for 500 men, the military board had put 1,300 into them. At a third, the barracks were good, but men yet died from cramming:² And so disease and neglect are now thinning the ranks of our army.³

The only warlike event of his command was one in itself disgraceful to the authorities. A hill tribe, the Afreedies, attacked some sappers while making a road between Peshawur and

¹ Life, Vol. IV. p. 198.

² Ibid. p. 199.

³ "There is a very large and beautiful fort here, capable of containing some thousands; but, strange to say, the two companies of the Highlanders on duty here are both kept out of it We are lying on the ground too, among large black ants, and insects and vermin of all descriptions are in abundance Now all this could easily be remedied by supplying us with cots, of which there are plenty of every description in the fort; and yet, though they have been applied for several times, they will not let us have any. We have often lain on the ground. It is a thing we were quite accustomed to in Persia, and no man grumbled, because it could not be helped; but here, where there is no occasion for it, and where sickness is so prevalent, it is really too bad Since the arrival of the Highlanders in Bengal, three officers have died of cholera and fever, and four have been wounded in action. Our casualties are as follows:—killed in action, seventeen; wounded, fifty-six; died from cholera, exposure, and fatigue, forty-two; and two missing."—*Letter from Allahabad, ubi supra.*

PART II. Kohat, in the far North-West. Without consulting the Commander-in-Chief, two regiments
History. were directed to force their way to Kohat, an
 LECT. XV. isolated post. The Commander-in-Chief found
 them at Peshawur. One, despatched to operate among rocky hills, was a cavalry regiment; the other, an infantry regiment, was, so to speak, unarmed—muskets without locks, locks without muskets, and the like.¹ Sir Charles Napier furnished them, on his own responsibility, with arms, and convoyed them in person to their destination, the road being so difficult, that with 3,000 men and six guns he lost two officers and twenty men killed, besides wounded.² He learned on the spot, amongst other reasons for the hostilities of the Afreedies, that the Lahore Government had raised the price of salt—one of the oppressive Government monopolies of India—*two thousand per cent.*, viz. from twenty measures for a rupee to one rupee per measure; the forcing of the Bengal regulation code being, moreover, most offensive to the hillmen, so that, as he wrote to Lord Ellenborough, there would have been more insurrections had the discontented had hills to flee to.³

But the most striking fact of his command was, that it was marked by a mutiny of the Bengal army, arising from very much the same causes as the present one, though upon a different occasion. The primary occasion this time was, that certain extra allowances unwisely made to the sepoy, on the first occupation of the Punjab, were suddenly suppressed on annexation,

¹ Life, Vol. IV. p. 233.

² Ibid. p. 237.

³ Ibid. p. 238.

thus necessarily arousing the feeling among them that it was against their own interest to promote the extension of the English rule. Tampering with the soldiers' pay is at all times a dangerous experiment; how much more so with an army of alien mercenaries, kept to overawe people akin to them in race and language! Two regiments refused the reduced pay; another, 400 miles off, refused to enter the Punjab without the higher pay; twenty-four other regiments were known to be of the same mind. An unusual degree of correspondence was going on between regiments; sepoyas, especially the young ones, were heard to say, "When other regiments come up, we will do as they do; this reduction of pay is tyranny, but what can we do alone?" Sir Charles Napier discovered, moreover, that the insubordinate spirit was chiefly among the Brahmins, whose plan was, by religious influence to overawe the Government, and bar recruiting if the mutineers were disbanded.¹

To the plan of disbandment, whilst it could be avoided, Sir Charles Napier was strongly opposed. Had the two most disaffected regiments been disbanded, the whole line, he urged, would follow their example. "No man could tell where this danger would end, and any blunder of this kind would be ruinous." For "the greatest possible danger" he felt that he "must be prepared." His

¹ Circumstances which, I think, deserve to be referred to in connexion with the mutinous feeling of this period, though left unnoticed by the Napiers, are the explosions of ammunition,—one at Benares, of 3,000 barrels of powder, in no less than thirty boats, which killed upwards of 1,200 people, —another on the Ganges, which destroyed 1,800 barrels, though without loss of life. See Taylor and Mackenna, pp. 478-9.

PART II. resolution was to treat the cases as isolated ones,
History. whilst they could be thus treated; "for," said he,
LECT. XV. "if we attempt to bully large bodies they will do
the same by us, and a fight must ensue." The
crowning event of the mutiny was when, at Wuz-
zeerabad, a regiment *coming from Lucknow*, on
reaching Govindghur, in the Punjab, insulted the
officers, attempted to seize the gates of the great
fort, containing treasure, and was only quelled by
the accidental presence of a cavalry regiment on
its return to India. The mutineers were sen-
tenced, too leniently, as Sir Charles thought, to
fourteen years' imprisonment. This time Sir
Charles deemed it expedient to dismiss the regi-
ment; but in order to neutralize the evil, he
instantly replaced it by an irregular battalion
of Goorkhas, thus showing the Brahmins that
their efforts to stop recruiting would only serve
to substitute for the Hindoo sepoy men with-
out caste prejudice, and of a hardier and more
warlike race than themselves. Had the example
been followed on a large scale, as he vainly
urged, the present mutiny would probably never
have been heard of.

Whilst Sir Charles Napier was thus engaged
in skilfully setting to rights the already rickety
framework of the Bengal army, his proceedings
were suddenly brought to a close, and the work
had to remain undone for ever.

As an instance of the trifles upon which the
greatest and most fearful events in history may
partly turn, it is worth while recording how this
took place.

There was a regulation of Lord Ellenborough's,
giving the sepoy compensation for rations, reck-

oning each article separately when they were above a certain price. Lord Hardinge altered this in 1847, and the compensation was consolidated on the whole of the articles composing the rations. The sepoy in the Punjab knew nothing of the change for a long while, owing to the cheapness of provisions. But at Christmas, 1849, prices having risen at the station of Wuzzeerabad, the focus of the late mutiny, the new rule came into effect, and would have deprived each sepoy of a trifling sum. Sir Charles had just quelled open mutiny; he knew, however, that the mutinous spirit still pervaded 40,000 men. He dreaded the effect of the new rule, at this particular time and place. Had he referred to the Supreme Council, he would not have had an answer for a month. Supported by the advice of the Adjutant-General, and of the brigadier in command at the station, he took upon himself to suspend the operation of the new rule, pending a reference to the Council. The *total* extra expense which he thus occasioned to the Government was ten pounds.

The act was not, indeed, disallowed. But it was met by a reprimand from the Governor-General, conveyed through third parties, so as to render it more offensive,—warning the Commander-in-Chief that he would not again be permitted, "*under any circumstances*, to issue orders which should change the pay and allowances of the troops serving in India, and thus, practically, to exercise an authority which had been reserved, and most properly reserved, for the Supreme Government alone."

Sir William Napier wastes far too much time

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and paper in defence of his brother in respect to this matter, and upon the discussion of the many mistakes in the Duke of Wellington's memorandum upon it. If a commander-in-chief like Sir Charles Napier, full of years, genius, and experience, cannot exercise his judgment for the avoidance of mutiny in India by suspending a petty regulation at the cost of ten pounds, of course he has no place there. The country, with its millions of natives, and thousands of scattered Europeans, must be left at the mercy of a clever governor-general, whose endeavours "to assimilate the soldiers' allowances in every province of the Presidency," take, of course, precedence of any other consideration.

Into the further details of Sir Charles Napier's and Lord Dalhousie's differences I need not enter. He seems to have offended Lord Dalhousie from the first, unwittingly, by severely criticising the Punjab administrative system, which was the Governor-General's own work : he offended him afterwards wittingly, by placing the Goorkhas on sepoy allowances, which Lord Dalhousie sought to withhold, although these gallant fellows, whilst very proud of our service, were actually starving upon their scanty pay as irregulars, and many had deserted from sheer want of food.¹ The frugality of Sir Charles, who reduced the establishment of the Commander-in-Chief, on inspection, from 80 or 90 elephants, 300 or 400 camels, and nearly as many bullocks, with all their attendants, and 332 tent-pitchers, including 50 men solely employed in carrying glass doors for a pavilion,—to

¹ Life, Vol. IV. p. 248.

30 elephants, 334 camels, and 222 tent-pitchers, at a saving of expense to the Treasury of 750*l.* a month,¹ was a standing rebuke to the Governor-General, whose travelling camp consisted of 135 elephants, 1,060 camels, 700 bullocks, 135 carts, 488 Government tents, and 6,000 men, exclusive of the escort ;² and, if I mistake not, exclusive, also, of the coolies pressed from village to village, where they can be caught for the service, and too often left unpaid. After the rebuke Sir Charles had received, he could not remain in command, and he did not. All he had done, he wrote, on leaving India, was to give "a vigorous tone to the army, which it had in a great degree lost." Next to tone, he "ought to have drawn the cords of discipline and drill tight, but could not, without time and camps of instruction, neither of which he could obtain. But before he could improve discipline, the troops must have been freed from the oppressive civil duties imposed on them ; until this was done, no good could be done." And so the Bengal army lost its last chance of peaceful renovation.³

Sir Charles Napier took leave of the officers of the Indian army in a celebrated address (9th Dec., 1850), severely complaining of them for neglecting to pay their debts, and having to be brought before Courts of Requests. "A vulgar man," he wrote, "who enjoys a champagne tiffin, and swindles his servants, may be a pleasant companion to those who do not hold him in contempt as a vulgar knave, but he is not a gentleman ;

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¹ Life, Vol. IV. pp. 505, 206.

² Ibid. p. 321.

³ Life, Vol. IV. p. 298. The whole of the above details are drawn from this volume, *passim*.

PART II. his commission makes him an officer, but he is
History. not a gentleman."

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In January, 1851, Bajee Rao, the old Peshwa, died. He wished his pension, 90,000*l.* a year, to be continued to his adopted son, Nana Sahib. This was refused; but the jagheer of Bithoor, with all its privileges, including the employment of troops and possession of artillery, was left temporarily to the latter. Hence, as I have already had occasion to observe, the late frightful massacre of Cawnpore.

A very disgraceful trial was, in March, 1851, brought to a final conclusion against the Government. A contractor, of real genius, Jotee Persâd, had undertaken the whole subsistence of the armies during the Afghanistan and Gwalior campaigns. At the close of the war, he claimed a balance of half a million sterling. It was not paid, vouchers not being forthcoming, at least for the whole—vouchers which, under the circumstances, it is said, could hardly be looked for. On the occurrence of the Punjab war, he was requested to undertake the commissariat. He refused, but yielded at last, on promise of an adjustment of arrears after the war, and of a title of honour. When the war was over, he received neither: his new accounts were still more rigidly examined. He threatened an action. A native employed in the Commissariat brought charges of corruption, embezzlement, and forgery against him, and Major Ramsay was ordered to inquire into it. He reported him blameless to the Military Board. Of three members, two agreed in his report; a third proposed to refer the matter to the Governor-General and his

Council. It is always pleasant to shirk responsibility: the matter was so referred. And now occurred a scene which recalled the days of Warren Hastings and of Nuncomar. The wealthy native who had alone subsisted our armies in three wars—who was, beyond all question, an unsatisfied creditor of the State,—was required to give bail to appear in a penal action, brought against him by that Government, his debtor at Agra. Mr. Lang, an English barrister, became his bail; but Jotee Persâd, mistrustful of the Company's justice, fled to Calcutta, hoping to be safe under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The warrant was, however, executed in Calcutta, and Jotee Persâd was taken to Agra. The trial lasted twelve days. The prosecutor, the jury, the Court, were all nominated by the Government. But Jotee Persâd, defended by his bail, Mr. Lang, was acquitted, amidst the enthusiasm of the natives, who wanted to carry him in triumph from the Court House. Three-quarters of a century had certainly made a difference in the condition of India. Nuncomar, accusing a Governor-General, was hanged for forgery; Jotee Persâd, claiming his rights from Government, was acquitted. But, as respects the Government of India, the spirit of the two disgraceful proceedings is the same.¹

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Beyond disturbances on the north-western frontier, and riots at Bombay between the Musulmen and Parsees (22-3d November), remarkable at this day as a new token of revived

¹ Of course, we need not suppose Jotee Persâd immaculate; but the conduct of the Government is not the less unworthy on that account.

PART II. Mussulman fanaticism, nothing of moment occurred till the end of 1851, except the breaking out of the second Burmese war.
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The origin of this war was about the most futile that could be imagined. Two masters of English ships at Rangoon were proceeded against in the Burmese Court by English subjects,—East Indians, I believe,—and fined, one 55*l.*, one 70*l.* They complained to the English authorities ; laid claim to 1,920*l.* for demurrage, &c. Their claim was cut down by nearly half, to 920*l.* ; but so docked, a squadron was sent to Rangoon to enforce it (November, 1851). The King of Burma at first sent complimentary letters to Commodore Lambert ; recalled the Governor of Rangoon ; sent two deputy governors to make inquiry. Finding out, apparently, what the nature of the grievance was,—a squabble between foreigners as to the decision of his own magistrate, who had been called upon by one of them to interfere,—his Burmese pride was wounded ; he restored the late governor to favour, the English were superciliously treated, and sixty English subjects thrown into prison. Hereupon, by way of “material guarantee,” a Burmese ship of war was taken, and brought in as a prize to an English ship anchored outside a fort. The fort fired, was silenced, and a blockade of the rivers of Burma established (January, 1852). Moderate terms were, no doubt, offered hereupon. The prize was to be restored, if the Burmese would only pay the sum first asked. But their blood was up ; an insulting reply was sent by the hands of a dirty fisherman, and the ships were fired on. War now became unavoidable.

But the troops could not start for a few months.

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General Godwin, the commander of the expedition, arrived in Rangoon on the 2d April. I shall not, any more than on the occasion of the first Burmese war, go into the details of the operations, which lasted two years. The main feature of the war was the same as that of the previous one, viz. the ascent of the river Irrawaddie. This, as Sir Charles Napier justly observed, had the effect of "stereotyping" our line of operations.¹ General Godwin was an old man, whose sole claim to command apparently was that he had been in the first Burmese war, and had survived it. He was jealous, it was said, of the younger and more active officer in command of the navy, Commodore Lambert. Our force of steamers was fortunately overwhelming, and gave us immense advantage in the river warfare which was carried on; whilst the Burmese showed no longer the generalship which they had exhibited during the first war. Still, the operations were far from creditable to us. The general system seemed to be, having taken a town with little loss, to leave in it a force insufficient to retain it, and then to retake it with severe loss. Prome had thus to be taken twice, the city of Pegu three times, though in a country which rose of itself in our favour. Detachments were cut off; officers were murdered. Pegu, after official annexation, was overrun with so-called robbers, who at last had to be called Burmese patriots, declaring that if they had to give up the country to us it should be as a desert. The

¹ Life, Vol. IV. p. 383.

PART II. Peguese bitterly asked if this was to be our protection. Fortunately for us, an internal revolution broke out in Ava ; a more peaceful monarch was set on the throne. But though peace was nominally re-established, quiet was not, as late as April, 1855. Prome was three times fired ; an officer erecting telegraph-posts was tied to a tree and speared to death. Pegu, however, remains our own, giving us a further large strip of the coast line of Eastern India.

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In the meanwhile, a further territory had been annexed in Scinde. There was always trouble on the north-western frontier ; Momunds and Eusofzyes were in arms ; our territory had been invaded near Dera Ismail Khan ; in the Hazareh country two collectors had been killed, and the chief, after vainly endeavouring to punish the murderers, was mustering his people for defence against British retribution. From Peshawur the fermentation extended to Khyrpore, where old Meer Ali Morad, the only one of the Scinde Ameers who had remained faithful to us, was said to be protesting against the Company's claims to Sukkur and Roree, two strong towns facing each other, in the north-western corner of his jagheers. It was certainly convenient to discover at this moment that he had committed forgery in a treaty between the Company and his father, substituting the names of districts for those of villages. An overwhelming force was sent against him. An independent prince, our ally, was summoned before a British commission, to answer charges brought by men of bad character, one of whom acknowledged himself the actual forger at his alleged desire. He was

found guilty, though protesting that he could prove the impossibility of the forgery; and not only were the districts in question taken away, but a great part of his dominions, yielding more than 90,000*l.* a year, was confiscated—thereby conveniently covering a deficiency in the revenues of British Scinde (1852). The principal accuser has since acknowledged that the accusation was false, and brought in revenge; but the confiscated possessions have never been restored.¹ It is the same Meer Ali Morad, who the other day forwarded a most liberal donation to the Indian Relief Fund. Such is another sample of what my Lord Dalhousie deemed “just opportunities” for annexation of territory. .

Sir Colin Campbell, with 2,500 men, now marched against the Eusofzyes, north of Peshawur, who submitted, promising to pay tribute. Some months afterwards, however, this noble officer, now Commander-in-Chief, was driven to resign his command through differences with the Military Board. The ostensible reason for his resignation seems to have been that the forces assigned to him were too small for the duties imposed upon him; the real one, as appears from Sir Charles Napier's letters, that his efforts to prevent “unprovoked attacks and cruelties on the tribes around Peshawur,” “almost past belief,” proved unsuccessful; whole districts being devastated, and the most beautiful villages burned. “without any apparent reason but the desire of politicals to appear vigorous in the eyes of Lord Dalhousie.”² (I mention this, because recent

¹ Sir Charles Napier's Life, Vol. IV. p. 346.

² Ibid. p. 390.

PART II. accounts from the extreme north-west seem to
History. imply the perpetration of exactly similar out-
 LECT. XV. rages, to "overawe" the tribes.) Towards the
 end of the year 1853, a force was sent, under
 Major Edwardes, to occupy the Kohat pass, and
 build a fort for overawing the Afreedies. There
 was fighting a whole day, but the pass was
 blocked; four villages burned; and the Afreedies,
 for the time, starved into submission. The fron-
 tier, however, may be considered in a state of
 chronic disturbance. The assassination of officers
 —sharp fights with the hill tribes—sudden at-
 tacks from them, sometimes to the number of
 2,000, are constantly reported from the neigh-
 bourhood of Peshawur and Kohat, to the end of
 Lord Dalhousie's rule, and since then also.

This was the time of the Russian war, and of
 course the impulse of it was felt as far as India.
 The Asiatic peoples, on the whole, preferred the
 English. Dost Mahommed sent envoys to Pe-
 shawur, to Calcutta; the Khan of Kokan did
 the same. A treaty was signed with Dost Mo-
 hammed on the 30th March, 1855. The Khan of
 Kokan obtained English drill instructors for his
 troops. Army reforms were introduced, and
 senior officers shelved; troops were sent to the
 Crimea; meetings took place in aid of the
 Patriotic Fund; a Parsee lectured in Bombay
 on the blessings of British rule. It may, how-
 ever, be regretted that instead of sending an
 English regiment to the Crimea, advantage was
 not taken of a war in defence of Turkey against
 Russia to make an appeal to Mussulman feeling,
 and draft off from India, with their own hearty
 concurrence, the most turbulent portion of our

Indian population. As it was, there were instances of volunteering for the war from the Bengal native cavalry, which were not accepted. And it thus actually happened, that during the course of this war for Mussulman interests, we had to repress special Mussulman disturbances in Southern India, in one of which Brigadier Colin Mackenzie was almost murdered by his own Mussulman troopers; whilst the collector of Malabar, Mr. Conolly, was actually killed while sitting with his wife in his own verandah.

The Nizam's territory was in great disorder. The sums required for payment of his debt to us had to be diverted from the ordinary purposes of the State. The unpaid troops committed outrages at Hyderabad; many rich natives sought refuge at the British Residency. The Governor-General required a portion of territory, yielding annually 360,000*l.*, to be given up to the management of the Resident, until the debt should be lawfully liquidated (1851). The Resident was empowered to take military occupation, unless peaceably given previously to a given date. The Minister avowed his inability to pay the contingent; five English officers were asked for to collect the revenue. Eventually, the Nizam ceded to us his territories in Berar—rich cotton districts—in discharge of our claims. There were, however, many disturbances after this, caused chiefly by Mussulman Rohillas.

The next great annexation of territory was that of Nagpore—i.e., the old Mahratta kingdom of Berar—in 1853. It was annexed, as Sattara before, for want of heirs, adoption being disallowed. The exact particulars of the case I am

PART II. not fully acquainted with. But one cannot fail
History. to be struck with the frequency of death without
 LECT. XV. heirs amongst Indian sovereigns, from the moment
 when the policy of annexation is proclaimed by
 a Governor-general.¹

There was one other bold experiment in annexation to be performed by Lord Dalhousie.² But it marks so essentially the very close of his rule, that I deem it better to turn away for the present to measures of internal administration,—many of them most commendable—to matters of internal discussion, some of them most scandalous.

Public works were, in some directions, vigorously pushed. The opening of the Great Ganges Canal was an event of the greatest importance to Upper India, and was looked upon by vast crowds with feelings of religious wonder and thankfulness. Thanks chiefly to the energy of Colonel Cautley, 500 miles of this magnificent

¹ One fact connected with the Nagpore annexation deserves to be mentioned. Under the plea that the jewels belonging to the late Raja were Crown property, family heirlooms and other articles, to the amount of 750,000*l.*, were taken possession of by the Government, the greater part sold in the public bazaar, and the proceeds appropriated to form a fund for pensions to the four wives of the Raja, and for the support of his “family connexions;” the public exchequer magnanimously taking upon itself to defray any deficiency, to the amount of 30,000*l.* a year. In other words, the private property of the Raja was to answer his obligations, whilst the Company took his territory. See, the *Indian News*, 2d April, 1855.

² Minor absorptions of territory can hardly be reckoned. In a map prefixed to Mr. Wylie’s “Bengal as a Field of Missions,” I find the district of Sumbhulpoor in the S. W. marked as annexed in 1850,—a fact as to which I have no other information.—On the same map, to the N.E., “Toolaram Senahputtee’s territory” is marked as “annexed in 1844.” Some slight further notice of this latter event will be found at p. 76 of the same work.—Jeitpoor “lapsed” in 1849.

work had been completed in eight years. Through the vigour and promptness of Dr., now Sir William, O'Shaughnessey, a magnificent system of telegraph communication was carried from end to end of India. Cheap postage was introduced. Great encouragement was given to the formation of railway companies in England, by means of Government guarantees for a minimum rate of dividend. But in spite of the strenuous opposition of one of the ablest engineer officers in the Company's service, Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton, a preference was given, as I have mentioned elsewhere, to dear railways over cheap ones, and the improvement of water communication, harbours, &c. However, it is better that India should have railways, with their staff of independent Englishmen, any how, and at any price, than not at all. Bombay has the credit of having opened the first railway; Calcutta the second. In spite of all wise predictions to the contrary, the natives have largely patronized them.

In connexion with the question of public works should, however, be mentioned a most discreditable financial transaction, more damaging to the credit of the Company than any they ever perpetrated. In the year 1853, the Company's finances were said to be in a most flourishing condition; its treasury so full, that it was enabled to pay off at par its existing five per cent. loans, offering, however, as a matter of favour to its creditors, to keep their money at four per cent. The bait took, and the bulk of the holders both of the Company's floating debt in India, and of its so-called book-debt, converted their five per cents. into four's; the public confidence remaining such, that the

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value of the security was scarcely impaired, and that it remained at a premium. Before long, suspicion began to be aroused, by a futile attempt to raise money at three-and-a-half per cent. in India, where twelve per cent is the average rate. Early in 1855, the necessity of promoting public works was made the plea for another loan, and this time at five per cent. The whole mercantile community of India, English and native, was convulsed. On the 20th December, 1854, the Court of Directors had spoken of there being surplus funds in the treasury sufficient to carry on public works. In March, 1855, nearly three millions were asked of the capitalist. Instantly the Company's four per cent. paper fell from above par to sixteen or seventeen per cent. discount; the five per cent. paper itself being at a discount also. The pretence of public works was felt instinctively to be a blind. Still, the thick and thin supporters of Government endeavoured to demonstrate it a reality. The public works loan slowly filled; and lo! since then, a four-and-a-half per cent. loan, afterwards turned into another five per cent loan, has had to be opened, this time without any pretence of public works; whilst within the present year, almost all public works have had to be suspended.¹ The "four per cent. swindle" is the habitual term by which the conversion of 1853 is spoken of in India; and we have been lately told that the Company's breach of faith in this respect to its creditors—the great bulk of whom are natives—has been instanced by mutineers as a justification for their becoming false "to their salt." So difficult

¹ In the Madras Presidency "money is refused even for the repair of existing roads, out of the town of Madras."—*Letter from India, 15th October, 1857.*

is it to measure the consequences of one dishonest act. Let us pass, however, for a while to matters which exhibit Lord Dalhousie's administration in a more creditable light. The rule of Lord Hardinge had seen the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal—an office greatly needed. The exercise of this important function was entrusted to Mr. Halliday, probably the ablest Company's servant of the day, whose examination before the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, on the occasion of the last renewal of the charter, impressed all who heard it with a deep sense of his worth. To Mr. Halliday, I believe, are chiefly owing the measures of internal improvement which mark Lord Dalhousie's rule in Northern India; and he is specially distinguished for his resolute efforts to place Europeans and natives on a footing of equality. Unfortunately, I believe him to have taken, as all Company's servants are apt to take, a wrong view as to the means by which this equality is to be achieved. To lower Europeans to the level of the native, seems to be the ideal of philanthropy with statesmen of this stamp. To raise the natives to the level of Europeans, should be that of a true Englishman. Hence, while we may sympathise with Mr. Halliday in his proposal, which created such excitement in Calcutta (1855), to place a native in the highest Company's court, that of *Sudder Adawlut*, I think we may, on the other hand, sympathise as entirely with the European community in their resistance to the "black acts," which have placed English residents in the provinces under the jurisdiction of the Company's courts.

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In connexion with questions of judicature and legislation, it is well to mention at once the last charter of the East India Company, enacted in 1853 (16 & 17 Vict. c. 95). This was no longer for a term of years; but the Company's government was to continue "until Parliament should otherwise provide." The number of Directors was reduced, one-third of them to be eventually appointed by the Crown. A legislative council was to be constituted for India; the appointments to the civil and medical services were thrown open to general competition; the patronage of the army, with that of the staff of chaplains, being alone reserved to the Directors.

The full effect of these innovations has not yet been felt. As one result of them, it may be mentioned, that a native Christian, Dr. Goodeve Churkerbutty, won by public competition his admission to the so-called "covenanted" service of the Company as an assistant surgeon, the first native who has ever yet entered it. The creation of the Legislative Council in Bengal was followed, eight months afterwards (20th January, 1855), by the admission of the public to its debates,—the first step towards the creation of a genuine public opinion. At Madras, Lord Harris, who seems to have shown himself an excellent governor, set a kindred example by throwing open the Government records to the press,¹ and the impulse given by him was followed in the other Presidencies. Yearly reports were also required to be sent in from all the Governments, and from the

¹ The Madras Native Association was, however, *refused* this privilege.

various Commissioners, to Calcutta,—another excellent measure.

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Education was zealously promoted. Schools were established at Poona for children of the lowest castes, whose very shadow is pollution to the higher. In Calcutta, Mr. Drinkwater Bethune, legal member of Council, took up the difficult subject of the education of native females ; and a school which he established for this purpose was maintained after his death by Lord Dalhousie. In the North-West, Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor, issued a notification that wherever village schools existed, natives unable to read or write would be ineligible for public employment. An important general plan of education was laid down. It was resolved that the Councils of Education should be superseded by Ministers, afterwards called, rather more modestly, Directors of Public Instruction, in each Presidency ; that universities should be created in Bombay and Bengal, on the plan of that of London ; that English education for the upper ranks of natives, and vernacular education for the masses, should be placed on a footing of absolute equality ; that grants in aid should be made without distinction of creed, and subject to no condition except that of inspection by Government. The plan, on the whole, seems in itself an excellent one ; and for it, if I mistake not, India is wholly indebted to Mr. Halliday. But it has yet to be shown that it will be worked in the right spirit. In the first place, instead of choosing the best man for Minister of Public Instruction, whether in or out of the service, the Indian Government deemed itself forced to

PART II. History. *LECT. XV.* appoint only civilians, with salaries of from 3,500*l.* to 4,000*l.* a year. An expenditure of 40,000*l.* a year on management, out of which five civilian superintendents would draw 20,000*l.*, was the first result of the measure; and it was remarked that the salaries of the superintendents alone would maintain 800 village schools with their teachers.¹ As single facts in the history of education, and the progress of knowledge and moral feeling in India, however, I know nothing more remarkable than the two following:—A prize for an essay on Female Infanticide, written in English, was won by the Parsee Cowerjee Rustomjee Mody, at Bombay, in 1849.² A prize of 350*l.*, offered by the Nawab of the Carnatic for a translation of a medical work into Hindostanee, was won, in 1855, over many competitors, by a young soldier of the 2nd Europeans.³

In connexion with the subject of education may be mentioned that of infanticide in the Dooab (*i.e.* of the Ganges and Jumna). A large meeting of Rajpoot chiefs took place at Mynpoorie (November, 1851), in which they agreed to limit marriage expenses and dowries, according to the plan acted on by Hall in Mairwarra, by Ludlow in independent Rajpootana.⁴ An inquiry took place as to the existence of the crime in the Punjab, where it was found to be general among the Rajpoots and among the Bedees, a priestly tribe who only tolerate male offspring; common also among the Mussulmen.⁵ The cause

¹ *Indian News* for April, 1855.

² See Raikes's "Notes," p. 12, n. *.

³ *Friend of India* June, 21st, 1855.

⁴ See Raikes's "Notes," 33rd and following pages.

⁵ The practice was pointedly condemned among the Sikhs by Nanuk and Govind.

was chiefly, as in Rajpootana, the expense of marriage ceremonies. A great meeting of chiefs was held at Umritsur, the holy city of the Sikhs (14th November, 1853). It was calculated that, besides the natives of the town, there were 20,000 strangers present. The meeting was addressed by the British authorities, and every native present signed an agreement, on oath, not to allow infanticide to take place without denouncing it. The plan acted upon was again that of limiting marriage expenses.

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An attack upon caste, somewhat questionable perhaps in its boldness, was the passing of an act for legalizing the re-marriage of female widows. It is obvious that the suppression of suttee must of itself have increased the number of widows, whose fate—married as many of them are in infancy—became often most pitiable. But it may be doubted whether it would not have been better to have waited somewhat longer, in order to show the Hindoos that the one measure was the necessary result of the other. As it was, I suspect the suppression of suttee was rather checked by the latter step. Certain it is that it has not proceeded so rapidly in the native states as the great success of Major Ludlow's efforts in the first instance might have led us to expect; so that suttees have actually taken place within the last three years. And it should be added that the bill for legalizing the marriage of widows was strongly opposed in the north,—the seat of the present high-caste mutiny; although it seems to have been received with favour at Bombay.

The evil of Dekoitee, however, seemed to bid defiance to the Government. Sleeman had, indeed,

PART II. well-nigh extirpated it from Central India, and
History. had broken up, in great measure, its caste organi-
LECT. XV. zation. But the result of this seems to have
been to flood the Lower Provinces with fugitive
robbers, who chiefly collected in irregular gangs
around Calcutta itself. Petitions were received
from respectable inhabitants of some of the
neighbouring districts, appealing for protection.
“Gang-robberies,” to use Lord Dalhousie’s own
words in 1852, as quoted by Mr. Kaye, “had
increased to such an extent, that a feeling of
general insecurity had arisen in the minds of the
people of these districts.” More stringent mea-
sures were enacted; an energetic magistrate,
Mr. Wauchope, was appointed special commis-
sioner for the suppression of Dekoitee in Lower
Bengal. We are told that the crime had dimi-
nished by one-half within the first year of his
appointment. But we find, as hereafter noticed,
many subsequent complaints of the prevalence
of such evils, and of the consequent want of
security for person and property,—the same
mischiefs being also complained of in Madras.

A more serious evil, however, than gang-rob-
bery itself is, oppression by Government officers.
Under Lord Dalhousie’s rule was at last unmis-
takeably brought to light a foul evil, the existence
of which had been long known and asserted by
persons independent of the Company, and as long
denied by Directors in and out of Parliament,—
the practice of torture by the native officers of
Government, whether for the extortion of evi-
dence or for the collection of revenue. This I
believe, indeed, to have been,—I fear I should still
say, to be,—more especially prevalent among the

less warlike races of Southern India, and under the grinding influence of the ryotwar system. Here it was known and denounced years ago by my grandfather, Mr. Murdoch Brown; and bitter was the enmity which he brought upon himself by so doing. After him, it was again denounced in print by his son, now nineteen years ago. Company's officers reported on its existence to their Government. Mr. Malcolm Lewin, when Circuit Judge in the Madras Presidency in 1840, reported thus that the "cruelties" to which accused parties were subjected by the police were "systematic and habitual." One prisoner who appeared before him had lost his arm through police maltreatment. Two others "appeared with their bodies branded, the sores still fresh."¹ Still Sir James Hogg and Mr. Mangles denied the fact in Parliament with lofty virtue. An English barrister of the Madras bar, Mr. Norton, at last took the matter up; and in a pamphlet established such an overwhelming *prima facie* case that Lord Harris, to his infinite credit, appointed a commission of inquiry into the subject, placing Mr. Norton upon it. The efforts of this Commission were greatly aided by the appearance in India of Mr. Danby Seymour, chairman of a new English organization for the amelioration of our rule in India, the "Indian Reform Association," which has published some valuable tracts on the subject. By this means, whilst the Commission reported in Madras (1854), conclusively establishing the fact that torture of the most barbarous and revolting

¹ See "Torture in Madras," printed by Brettell, Haymarket, 1855.

PART II. description was practised by native officers, Mr.
History. Danby Seymour was able from his place in
 LECT. XV. Parliament to corroborate the reality of the evil
 from the results of his personal inquiry. Lord Harris, on his part, acted as an English nobleman should do. He gave full publicity to the Torture Report, and showed favour to Mr. Norton. So great was the interest excited by the inquiry, that the chief magistrate and superintendent of police at Madras reported (19th January, 1855) that "parties were flocking to the Presidency from all parts of the mofussil" (the provinces) "to make their representations before the Committee appointed to investigate alleged cases of torture;" there were then "about 300 persons in attendance, and the number was increasing daily;" some of these individuals had then been "upwards of twenty days waiting for their turn to be heard;" and yet "in several instances" it had been found that parties had gone away, under circumstances leading "to the belief that they had been induced to withdraw under promises."¹ And now it came to be pretty freely admitted that the case of Madras was but an extreme sample of what was taking place all over India. The *Friend of India*—once the able and impartial organ of the Serampore missionaries, then the thick-and-thin supporter of Government—had, indeed, for years admitted that torture was practised in Bengal by the police, when it could be perpetrated with impunity. Single cases established the fact. So little, indeed, was it estimated at its true heinousness by the

¹ See *Indian News* for April 2nd, 1855, where Mr. Elliot's letter is quoted at length.

Company's judges, that murder by judicial torture seems hardly to have been considered a crime worthy of death. In the number of the above-named journal for July 13, 1854, may be found a report of a case decided by the highest (Company's) Criminal Court of Bengal, in which a man suspected of dekoitee was first beaten personally by the native police superintendent with a whip; then ordered to be beaten till he produced the plundered property; then, when the victim agreed to show the spot where it was, but could find none, beaten again, till at last he produced some silver ornaments from his own house; then beaten again till he fell senseless; then carried to the police, slung like a calf on a pole, on which journey he died. All the blows had been inflicted on the joints, to show as little as possible. On the ground that "the object of the prisoners was not murder, but to extract from the deceased the plundered property and the names of his accomplices," the judge of Dinagepore sentenced the superintendent to fourteen years' imprisonment in irons, and his accomplices to different periods of imprisonment, seven years being the maximum. You will probably think with me that such a judge should have at least shared the punishment of the superintendent. A year later (June, 1855) an *English* police officer and two others were charged at Calcutta itself with assaulting two natives to extort confession regarding a gold ring; an English doctor reporting that both of them had been beaten on the body with a stick.

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Whilst these grave charges were being established against the lowest of the Company's offi-

PART II. cials, a good deal of scandal was spread abroad,
History. in Bombay especially, respecting some of the
LECT. XV. highest. Two judges of the highest Company's
court, the Sudder Adawlut, were suspended for
misconduct, by Lord Falkland, Governor of
Bombay. On the other hand, an inferior officer,
a civilian of the name of Luard, was also sus-
pended, for offering to prove infamous conduct
against some of the Company's judges. A still
more serious matter were the charges brought
forward by Colonel, now Major-General Outram,
Resident at the Guicowar's court, at Baroda, of
bribery against various officials. These are de-
tailed in several "blue books" of 1852-3, or-
dered by Parliament; and especially in Colonel
Outram's own reports to the Bombay Govern-
ment. Colonel Outram found the Guicowar's
country distracted and lawless, and the most
influential cause of its wretched condition to lie
in "a deeply rooted and wide-spreading distrust
of the British authorities, partly founded on cer-
tain decisions in cases of disputed succession,
which were regarded by the native public as
most unjust, and as having been obtained
through the influence of bribery." That some
of the decisions "were really unjust," he was
"reluctantly compelled" to admit; that they
were connected with bribery, largely received by
Brahmins of the most subtle and corrupt tribe,
employed as Government officials, he became
equally convinced. To his surprise, he found
inquiry into these malpractices checked by direct
orders from Bombay, and notorious culprits
screened by British influence, to the immense
discredit of our nation. Pursuing his investiga-

tions further, he discovered that the charges of bribery were carried by the native voice as far as the Government of Bombay itself; that large sums were remitted year after year by the Guicowar to a Bombay banking-house, for presents to the Governor himself, to members of Council, and other inferior parties; that these sums were believed to reach the hands for which they were intended.¹ That they could have done so in any instance, seems difficult to credit; yet that subordinate English officials were actually implicated, is placed beyond doubt; and it is equally beyond doubt that the guilty parties were perseveringly screened by some of the highest officials. At last, however, Lord Falkland issued a circular, requesting Government officers to report and suggest concerning the existence of a belief amongst the natives in the efficacy of intrigue in obtaining favour. Colonel Outram reported, and for reporting was dismissed; and charges were even brought against him by Lord Falkland. It is satisfactory, indeed, to add, that the Governor of Bombay was reprimanded by Lord Dalhousie (end of 1854), and that Colonel Outram fought his way back into public employ.

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The two last events of importance which close the history of Lord Dalhousie's rule, are the Sontal insurrection, and the annexation of Oude. The Sontals, an aboriginal race, were invited to settle as cultivators on the Rajmahal hills, about 200 miles from Calcutta, some quarter of a cen-

¹ It is remarkable that among the names here mentioned occur those of some of the chief actors in the Sattara affair, and one which Sir Charles Napier, otherwise at daggers drawn with Colonel Outram, especially denounces.

PART II. tury ago.¹ Their district had been placed under
History. Mr. Pontet, an uncovenanted officer, said to be
 LECT. XV. a man of great ability and benevolence; and its
 { population had increased in thirteen years from
 3,000 to 83,000. Suddenly, in July, 1855, the
 whole race rose in arms. They had various
 grievances. Railways had begun to be con-
 structed through their district—they distrusted
 them; and some offence was offered to one of
 their women. But their worst grievances, as
 always amongst the aboriginal tribes, were the
 oppressions of tax-gatherers, money-lenders, and
 Bengalee zemindars, and these oppressions, they
 maintained, “were the sins of the Sahibs” (Euro-
 peans), who did not prevent them. Fanaticism
 mixed itself up with these feelings; one of their
 leaders announced to a great concourse, that he
 had seen the Godhead descend in the shape of a

¹ The Sontals are not to be confounded (as for a long time I did myself) with the original Hill-men of Rajmahal, civilised by Augustus Cleveland in the last century, and whose recognised territory is 295 miles in circumference. The Sontals have been allowed to settle where the Hill-men do not cultivate. The Hill-man is described as “of sanguine constitution, bold, light-hearted, idle, joyous, unstable, very loving, and very fierce, as his passions may sway him; with his love for independence, his aspiration to rise, with the slight and designing regard he bears to the people of the plains, whom he thinks to be slaves and beasts of burden . . . a very different creature from the shy, laborious, industrious, and also enterprising Sontal, with whom the Hill-man seems to share in nothing, except in the great simplicity of social and religious life, great disregard of the sanctity of marriage ties, excessive love for intoxicating drink, and esteem for the *English*. Also the love of truth, it has been said, is characteristic of both races.”—*Bengal as a Field of Missions*, p. 330.

We have here a striking instance of the non-identity of the so-called aboriginal races amongst themselves. The Hill-men are probably genuinely such; the Sontals a tribe of mixed Tartars and aborigines.

cartwheel ; after which, two pieces of paper had fallen on his head, ordering the extermination of the offending classes. They began by murdering two European ladies and some of the native police, forced one or two railway-stations, and spread themselves over about 100 square miles of territory, destroying hundreds of villages and thousands of lives. Six thousand troops had to be sent against them ; railway officers made a most gallant stand at two or three places. The Sontals, though chiefly armed with bows and arrows, behaved on their part also with a good deal of gallantry. On one occasion, twenty-three of them took refuge in a mud-walled house, and fought till every one was killed. A first offer of pardon to them was not accepted, but by the burning of many of their own villages, and one or two successful actions (in one of which two of their leaders were taken), General Lloyd¹ succeeded in quelling them by the end of the year 1855. We know, however, that though quelled they were not pacified, and that they have taken advantage of the present insurrection to break out afresh.²

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¹ The same, I believe, whose name has since become ignominiously connected with the mutiny at Dinapore.

² The Sontals have received a very favourable character from most observers ; and as they are one of the most numerous aboriginal races, extending over a territory of not less than 400 miles, from the district of Mohurbunge in Orissa to the hills of Rajmahal in Bengal, and those near Mongheer in Behar, there is a good deal of independent testimony respecting them. "In Orissa," says the Rev. J. Phillips, "the Sontals are a hardy, industrious people, generally short, stout, robust, of hard features, with very dark complexion, and hair somewhat curly. They are particularly mild and placable, of a very social turn . . . While on the one hand the Sontals are less cringing and complimentary to foreigners

PART II. I now come to Lord Dalhousie's crowning
History. work, the annexation of Oude.

LECT. XV. You will recollect, that by Lord Wellesley's
 { treaty with the then Nawab-Vizier of Oude, that
 prince had agreed to introduce into his then
 remaining territories, such a system of adminis-
 tration as should be conducive to the prosperity
 of his subjects, and to the security of the lives
 and property of the inhabitants; and always to
 advise with, and act in conformity to the counsel
 of, the officers of the Company's Government.
 Advantage had been taken of this clause, from
 time to time, to remonstrate with the Oude
 princes on their misgovernment. I have no
 doubt that the charges to this effect were in

than their Hindoo neighbours, they are, on the other, decidedly more civil and courteous among themselves, and more hospitable to strangers. . . . Both in their labours and amusements, there is a far greater mingling of the sexes than among 'respectable' Hindoos . . . and the general bearing of the men towards the women is much more respectful, kind, and conciliatory, than is seen among orthodox Hindoos. Sontal women are frank and open, ready to converse with strangers . . . The rites of hospitality are usually performed by the wife, and often with a scrupulousness and kindness of manner which would do credit to an enlightened housekeeper."—Speaking of the Sontals of Hazareebagh, a district on the south frontier of Behar, Major Hannington says that they "generally speak the truth." Captain Sherwin says of those of Rajmahal, the extreme north range of the race, that the Sontal "is a short, well-made, and active man, quiet, inoffensive, and cheerful . . . an intelligent, obliging, but timid creature, very cowardly towards mankind, but brave when confronted with wild animals . . . an industrious cultivator of the soil . . . The men swear by the tiger-skin; but swearing them at all is unpardonable, for the truth is by a Sontal held sacred."—See "Bengal as a Field of Missions," pp. 134-5, 189, 322. What mismanagement must there not have been to have made enemies of such a race! one marked, as before stated (p. 204), together with the Hill-men, by "esteem for the English!"

great measure correct. The house of Oude has never been remarkable for peculiar beneficence as governors. A work lately published, the "Private Life of an Eastern King," affords, I suppose, a true picture of what they may have been as men. Still, the charges against them came, for the most part, from interested lips. The existence, so near the capital, of a territory still large and yet under native administration, was a necessary eye-sore to all who wished for an extension of the field of European patronage. Certain it is that all disinterested English observers—Bishop Heber, for instance—entering Oude fresh from Calcutta, and with their ears full of the current English talk about its miseries, were surprised to find a well-cultivated country, a manly and independent people. But, apart from all individual testimony, there is one fact that cannot possibly be overlooked, as establishing that the Oude government, however imperfect, was not utterly oppressive and hateful. It is indisputable—it is not disputed—that Oude has been, for a series of years, the chief recruiting ground for our own army. In other words, it has been the seat of a teeming, stalwart, warlike population. And this, not in the way in which Ireland, at the time of its utmost depression, sent its hungry sons into our armies. The Oude sepoy is no starving savage. He is, on the contrary, for the most part a man well to do, owning land, or closely connected with land-owners. He entered our army, not to escape from his own country, but to return to it upon his pension; glad, indeed, to be able to claim the British Resident's protection against any op-

PART II.
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• PART II. *History.*
 LECT. XV. } pressions by the officers of his own Government,
 but still preferring almost invariably the rule of
 that Government to our own.

Under Lord Dalhousie's rule, however, and after the proclamation of his annexation policy, complaints of Oude misgovernment became—at Calcutta—louder and louder. Within Oude itself, these complaints were met, and in part justified, by a rising Moslem fanaticism. Towards the middle of 1855, a sanguinary affray took place at Lucknow between Hindoos and Mussulmen, in which the King took part with his co-religionists, against the advice of Colonel Outram, the then Resident. Already British troops near Lucknow were held in readiness to act; already the newspapers were openly speculating on immediate annexation. A private meeting of 200 chiefs, we are told, took place on the 18th August. It was determined to spend 150,000*l.* a year, to prevent annexation, by bribery and agitation. Kasim, an old chief of ninety-five, was elected President, and spoke two hours, till he fainted. He had been born, he said, under the Oude crescent; the greatness of the royal house was fallen, but their people still respected them. It was of no avail, he said, to resist the Company. If the firman of annexation should overtake them, they must bow to it; but fight meanwhile with the endurance of the ox and the fox's cunning. The Nazarenes loved gold; the men of Oude loved their wild freedom more. Let them give gold to the Christians from the royal and private treasures—to hungry chiefs, to greedy agitators. Were not these men the same as their predecessors? The chiefs sided with

him. But bolder counsels were urged in other quarters. Pamphlets, appealing to Mussulman fanaticism, were largely circulated. Of one of these, "The Sword the Key of Heaven and Hell,"¹ 300 copies were seized by the Indian Government at Cawnpore.

At Fyzabad, new disturbances broke out between Hindoos and Moslems. The former were victorious. A Moolavee, or doctor, of high repute, named Ameer Alee, proclaimed the holy war. Troops were ordered against him; he sent two officers into confinement, and a sort of suspension of arms was concluded for a month. He then assembled 3,000 men, proclaiming the intention of destroying a particular Hindoo temple, on the site of which a mosque was to be erected. Native troops were sent against him; 12,000 men did nothing but watch him,—the lieutenant of the district supplied him with provisions. At last the King gave directions to Captain Barlow, of the subsidiary force, to disperse the insurgents. His troops were mixed Hindoos and Mussulmen; by dexterous management he separated the one from the others, placed the guns under charge of Hindoo gunners, and, leaving all the Mussulmen behind, marched with five reliable companies against Ameer Alee. The latter was wounded at the first discharge. But a force of Pathans with him behaved with desperate gallantry, charging up to the muzzles of the guns. While the day was yet doubtful, some Hindoo zemindars, with their retainers, attacked the Pathans. They died, shoulder to shoulder, round their guns. Only one Mussulman gunner went with

¹ See a short account of it in Appendix D, Vol. I.

PART II. Barlow; he refused to fire, and was sabred by
History. the Hindoos. 200 Hindoos and 300 Pathans
LECT. XV. perished in the affray (7th November, 1855).
On marching back, the Mussulman soldiers drew
swords on the Hindoos; the tumult was only
quelled by dispersing the regiments. Great
excitement was aroused in Lucknow on hearing
of the affair; sentries at the Vizier's gate were
cut down.

The talk of annexation grew riper and riper. The Indian Government assembled 16,000 men at Cawnpore. For months the Indian papers had been computing what revenue Oude yielded to its native prince—what revenue it might yield under the Company's management.

Lord Dalhousie's successor, Lord Canning, was already at Bombay. But the former seems to have been anxious to secure for himself the glory of this step. The plea—the sole plea—for annexation, was maltreatment of their people by the Kings of Oude. Lord Dalhousie saw no force in any argument for maintaining Sattara, grounded on native *good* government; but to native *ill* government he is keenly sensitive—although, whatever might have been the faults of this royal race, said the proclamation, towards their own subjects, they had “always been faithful and true to their friendship to the English nation.” The King had been warned by Lord William Bentinck, by Lord Hardinge. He had declined to sign a new treaty, vesting the government of his country exclusively in the East India Company. He was now to be deposed; and all who withheld obedience to the Governor-General's mandate were to be rebels (7th February, 1856).

The King followed the example of Pertaub Shean of Sattara—withdrew his guns, disarmed his troops, shut up his palace. Thus we entered into possession of 24,000 square miles of territory, with 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 inhabitants, yielding 1,000,000*l.* of revenue. But it was expected by officials that it could be made to yield 1,500,000*l.* of surplus. Can you wonder that it was annexed? The King received a pension of 120,000*l.* a year. The suppression of it, on the ground of his complicity in this mutiny, has already been urged. The cultivators were delighted, we are told, with the change; the troops not discontented. A year and a half later, those Hindoos and Mussulmen of Oude, so lately in open arms against each other, were all combined in arms against our rule. “We have not a foot of ground in Oude, beyond this place, that we can call our own,” wrote a cousin of mine, a Company’s officer beleaguered in Lucknow.

But Lord Dalhousie left Calcutta, we are told, “the idol of the Indian community.”

I shall not attempt to enter upon the history of Lord Canning’s rule. It is too early to judge of it. I may believe, with the Anglo-Indian community, that he was deficient in energy at the commencement of the mutiny. But, convinced as I am that he has to bear all the sins of his predecessors—more especially of the last—I am anxious to view his conduct with the utmost indulgence;—and I hailed with especial gratitude that order of his as to the treatment of the

PART II. mutineers—which the *Times* dared to sneer at—
History. which expressed only the feeling of a true Eng-
LECT. XV. lish gentleman; which I feel satisfied was not
issued one hour before it was urgently needed.¹

¹ I may seem to have spoken severely of Lord Dalhousie. I am far from denying his many good qualities. As an English official, in full daily battle with his equals, he would have been a great minister. He had shown the stuff of one already, in endeavouring to reduce our railway chaos into order through the Board of Trade; a work in which he was unfortunately left unsupported by Sir Robert Peel. But the Governor-Generalship developed his worst tendencies. His firmness became mere arbitrary wilfulness; his boldness, insolence: to his pre-conceived theories, all considerations of right and honour must bow down.

LECTURE XVI.

LESSONS OF THE PAST.

The present Outbreak not unforeseen: Warnings of Sir Thomas Munro; of Sir Charles Napier—Teachings of History as to its Causes—Elements of Opposition to us: The Brahmin Element—The Mussulman Element—The Mahratta Element—Occasions of the Outbreak: The Annexation of Oude—The greased Cartridges—Hindoos and Mussulmen thus united by common Grievances—Delhi the natural Centre of Revolt—Other Occasions of the Outbreak: The Invaliding Regulation, &c.—The Infringement of the Right of Adoption.

OUR writers and our orators seem never to tire of expatiating upon the suddenness—causelessness, as they are pleased to term it—of this present mutiny. All the blunders of detail which have intensified its dangers and its mischiefs, are excused by the question, “Who could have foreseen such a thing?”

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The idea of “suddenness,” of the “unforeseen” character of the outbreak, I am sorry to say, forms only part of that intense English ignorance as to Indian matters which still unfortunately prevails—that ignorance which, in its more ludicrous form, breaks out in an Under-Secretary of State’s speech to his constituents,¹ when he

¹ Mr. Massey, at Salford,—unless mis-reported by the *Times*.

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LECT. XVI.

represents Buddhism as the religion of India. Let us see whether no warnings have been bequeathed to us by those who knew India, perhaps before many of us ever had a single thought about it.

Sir Thomas Munro thus wrote of the native army years ago :—

“They will learn to compare their own low allowances and humble rank with those of their European officers ; to examine the ground on which the wide difference rests ; to estimate their own strength and resources ; and to believe that it is their duty to shake off a foreign yoke, and to secure for themselves the honours and emoluments which their country yields. Their assemblage in garrisons and cantonments will render it easy for them to consult together regarding their plans ; they will have no difficulty in finding leaders qualified to direct them ; their patience, their habits of discipline, and their experience in war, will hold out the fairest prospects of success. . . . They might fail in their first attempt, *but even their failure would not, as under a national government, confirm our power, but shake it to its very foundation.* In such a contest we are not to expect any aid from the people. The native army would be joined by all that numerous and active class of men formerly belonging to the revenue and police departments, who are now unemployed, and by many now in office who look for higher situations ; and by means of these men they would easily render themselves masters of the open country and of its revenue. The merchants and shopkeepers, from having found facilities given to trade which they never before experienced, might wish us success, but they would do no more. The heads of villages, who have at their disposal the most warlike part of the inhabitants, would be more likely to join their countrymen than to support our cause. They have, it is true, when under their native rulers, often shown a strong desire to be transferred to our dominion, but this feeling arose from temporary causes We delude ourselves if we believe that gratitude for the protection they have received, or attachment to our mild government, would induce any considerable body of the people to side with us in a struggle with the native army.”¹

¹ Sir T. Munro's Life, Vol. II. p. 32,—quoted in Mr. Sullivan's letter to Sir J. Hobhouse, “On the Impolicy of destroying the Native States of India,” 1850.

Is this, or is this not, a clear prophecy of a sepoy mutiny, and many of its accompaniments? Is this, or is this not, a warning which we should have taken to heart—which we should take to heart yet?

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But Sir Thomas Munro belonged to another generation. His warnings lost their point by time. Have they never been re-echoed by other voices? I will not here refer to a well-known saying of Lord Metcalfe's. But what wrote Sir Charles Napier in 1849?

"I see the system will not last fifty years. The moment these brave and able natives learn how to combine, they will rush on us simultaneously, and the game will be up."¹

He planned, even then, how, "if forced to fight for life and India," we could close in mass, "to retire on Calcutta or Bombay with all the Europeans, civil and military, and any faithful native troops. This may seem a wild idea of danger, but it is not impossible, and we should always be prepared; for if mischief ever comes in India, it will come like a thunderbolt."² Four years later, his own opinion was "pretty well made up," that our power in India was "crumbling very fast."³ He could not agree with Lord Ellenborough, as to the revision of the Company's charter in that year being the last revision of the charter during his life—"I think you will live to see a much rougher revision than people imagine, or than we shall like in England. . . . I do not expect to see this, but I think you will; and grieved you will be to see that empire

¹ Life, Vol. IV. p. 185.

² Ibid. p. 204.

³ Ibid. p. 382.

PART II. lost which you have done all that mortal could
History. do to save."¹

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Let us hope that his last-quoted words will not be verified by the event. But with such passages before us, it is surely mere gaping childishness to talk of the unforeseen character of the danger. Foreseen the danger was, and foreseen the means by which it would arise, if not the very occasion of its occurrence.

Let us now endeavour to count up what our late historical survey has taught us in reference to the present revolt. Perhaps it may no longer appear so causeless as it did at first.

If we try to distinguish the various elements of opposition to the English rule which the rebellion has brought forth, we shall find them, I think, principally three in number:—1. The Brahmin element, swaying more or less the whole Hindoo population. 2. The Mussulman element. 3. The Mahratta element.

Now, as respects the first, we are apprised of the great fact, that seven years ago, when Sir Charles Napier was Commander-in-Chief, there was a conspiracy, headed by the Brahmins, and of which the spirit was spread amongst no less than 40,000 men of the Bengal army, which broke out into actual mutiny even then. It is easy to see how many causes of enmity the Brahmins have against us. They were once the masters of India, and we *are* its masters. They were once the sole depositaries of Sanskrit lore, and we have wrested that monopoly from them. We have brought their mysterious Vedas to the light of day, and shown them to be at

¹ Life, Vol. IV. p. 386.

utter variance with popular Brahmin theology. We have disseminated scientific truths which utterly explode many a doctrine and legend of the Pooranas. We have given education to the children of the outcaste. We have set at nought the caste defilements of contact alone, by bringing the highest and the lowest castes together in our schools, in the ranks of our army, in our railway carriages. We have abolished suttee, and with it a fruitful source of income to many a Brahmin. We have encouraged the marriage of widows; threatened to limit the dowries of the brides of Brahmins. Old prophecies are current that Brahminism shall fall. We seem likely to realize them.¹ We have won adherents to our reforms from amongst the Brahmins themselves. Brahmin students have handled dead bodies in our dissecting-rooms; Brahmin converts have broken the sacrificial thread.

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But many of these causes of enmity are common to all the higher castes. A feeling has undoubtedly sprung up that the Government wish to abolish caste, and an increased tenderness as to its observance. This was visible, long

¹ See, as to this very interesting subject, Mr. Clarkson's "India and the Gospel," pp. 189, 190. These prophecies, he says, are current throughout India. Those of the south point directly to fair-skinned teachers from the west. The testimony is universal, as to the decay of Hindoo worship and temples, and the diminished reverence shown to Brahmins. A missionary from Patna (Behar) writes, that the "general feeling amongst the Hindoos" is, that Christianity will prevail,—many say, in "only a few years more" ("Bengal as a Field of Missions," p. 351). Another from Dacca says, "that the remark is often made that "The Kali Yug" (the evil age of the world) "is near to its end; we will all soon become Christians." (Mission Conference, p. 21.)

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before the affair of the cartridges. In the early part of 1855 the very criminals confined in the Tirhoot jail broke out into revolt, on account of some change in the prison utensils, which involved loss of caste. About the same time a mutiny was nearly taking place at Prome, in Burma, in the 25th regiment, through the opposition of the sepoys to the slaughtering of a calf by a steamer's crew,—lascars themselves. Latterly, the announcement by Government that recruits were only to be enlisted for "general service,"—*i. e.* service beyond the local bounds of caste—must have strengthened the same impressions. When, therefore, the Brahmins took the lead, the caste feeling of the whole Hindoo race would be likely to go with them.

The next element of opposition is the Mussulman one. The Mussulmen were the *last* masters of India, and must, therefore, have a keener sense of the loss of power than the Brahmins themselves. They are essentially, as I have said before, an aggressive race, and a proselytising one. They have many grounds of revenge against us. The Nawab of Moorsshedabad cannot have forgotten how Clive and Warren Hastings deprived his predecessors of their power. The King of Oude, were he still on the throne, could not have forgotten the fleecing of the Begums. The old chief, Kasim, who at ninety-five urged non-resistance to annexation upon his countrymen, was a young man already when the event took place. We have seen how religious reform has been preached, and the religious war waged, within this century, by Syed Ahmed and Maulavee Ismail, in the North-West—

in Oude—only the other day by Ameer Alee. We remember the disturbances in Baraset between Hindoos and Mussulmen, under Lord William Bentinck,—the revival of Mussulman fanaticism produced by the Afghan war; the disturbances between Mussulmen and Parsees at Bombay; the attack upon Colin Mackenzie by his own troopers, the murder of Conolly by the Mapillas of Malabar. I might have quoted other similar instances,—a regimental conspiracy of Mussulmen at Dinapore, in 1846, Mussulman disturbances in Guzerat, in 1855, &c. &c. The late Persian war caused great excitement in Northern India, where many of the Moslems are of the Sheeah sect. Less than two years ago, a relative of mine read placards on the walls of Delhi, calling true believers to the holy war, in the name of the Shah of Persia. Everything showed that the Mussulman body were ripe for revolt.

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The third element of opposition was the Mahratta. That was of old a divided one. There was rivalry between the Brahmin Peshwas and the house and clansmen of Seevajee. Mountstuart Elphinstone had wisely set up the latter against the former. But the Mahratta Brahmins,—looked down upon by those of the North, on account of their inhabiting a land of inferior dignity, and as being of mixed race; a fact, indeed, physically apparent in them,—are yet probably the very ablest and subtlest of the whole Indian population. It was of one of them that the Duke of Wellington said to Sir John Malcolm, that Talleyrand was very like him, “only not so clever.” They had made us their cat’s-paw

PART II. to dethrone Pertaub Shean at Sattara ; they had
History. thwarted Outram for years at the Court of the
 LECT. XVI. Guicowar, at Bombay itself. And now Lord
 Dalhousie's policy of annexation and confisca-
 tion set the Mahratta warrior and the Mahratta
 Brahmin alike against us. His rule against
 adoption was brought to bear alike against the
 heirs of Seevajee ; against the Boslas of Berar ;
 against the kinsmen of the deposed Peshwa.
 Whilst the ablest of native sovereigns, the bold
 opponent of Brahmin supremacy, was sent to
 die, broken-hearted, at Benares ; the clever Nana
 Sahib, the fluent English scholar, once a pupil
 in our Government schools, was robbed, as he
 deemed it, of his adoptive father and near rela-
 tive's pension,¹ and even of its accrued arrears,
 threatened in the possession of his jagheer, and
 yet left provided with troops and guns. It is
 now suspected that this man has been plotting
 for years against us ; to him, certainly, are owing
 the Cawnpore massacre, and in great measure
 the firm hold which the rebellion has taken in
 Upper Oude. On the other hand, although
 there may not have been much actual disturb-
 ance, the South Mahratta country is notoriously
 the focus of disaffection in the Deckan. Six-
 teen men have had to be blown from guns at
 Sattara ; in the South Mahratta country was

¹ Bombay officers, who "send their cards" to the *Times*, dispose very glibly of any complaints on Nana Sahib's part, by saying that the consent of the paramount had not been obtained to his adoption, and therefore he could have no claim. I know nothing as to the particulars of his case. But I shall have something to say hereafter as to the enormous fallacy which is habitually sought to be supported by the above reasoning.

raised the regiment that mutinied at Kolapore; and I strongly suspect that to the discontent of this race, which, together with the Mussulmen of the South, supplies a large portion of the Bombay army, are to be traced many of the late movements in different regiments of that army.

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But these three elements,—the Brahmin, the Mussulman, the Mahratta,—required some occasion to burst out into open warfare with us. Two such occasions were supplied to the two former, of which the latter was not slow to avail itself,—the annexation of Oude, and the affair of the greased cartridges.

I say boldly, that the annexation of Oude has been the primary occasion of the late outburst. I am expressing no solitary opinion,—no opinion of my own framing, but one which was pressed upon me at the very first, and from the most different quarters. Experienced officers now in England, familiar chiefly with Rajpootana; civilians writing from the Upper Provinces of India; merchants from Calcutta, all alike,—to my own surprise, I confess, at first,—pointed to this as lying at the bottom of the outbreak. Reflection, however, showed me that the opinion, however pooh-poohed by newspapers, was demonstrably correct.

Let us put aside the whole general question of the policy of annexation. Let us view the annexation of Oude on its own special grounds. And to judge of it the better, let us put a hypothetical case.

Suppose Austria, ruling directly over the whole of Italy, with the exception of a tiny duchy

PART II. or two here and there, and exercising a protecto-
History. rate over Piedmont. Suppose that, to keep the
 LECT XVI. peninsula in subjection, she chiefly depended
 upon Italian troops, officered by Austrians ; and
 that those troops were recruited in great mea-
 sure—those of Northern Italy more especially—
 amongst the more free and warlike Piedmontese.
 Could anything be more insane than for Austria,
 under such circumstances, to annex Piedmont,
 her recruiting-ground ? to fill all offices in the
 Piedmontese State with Austrian officials, fol-
 lowed by a crowd of cringing, lying Lombard or
 Tuscan slaves ? If the Piedmontese, who filled
 her armies, overawed for the time by her power,
 did not resist the fiat of annexation at the first,
 would it not be a matter of absolute certainty
 that they would look out for the earliest oppor-
 tunity of turning against Austria the discipline
 which they had been taught, the weapons which
 they had used, for her behoof hitherto ? Sup-
 pose that, whilst yet free, Vaudois and Romanists
 in Piedmont had been divided by the most deadly
 hostility, would not their rivalry be hushed by
 the common calamity of their State, by the com-
 mon grievances of their kinsmen and friends ?
 And is not this an exact picture of what England
 has done in annexing Oude?—with this differ-
 ence, that Austria has only the Alps to cross to
 reach Italy, whilst England has half the world to
 cross to reach India ; so that the folly of provok-
 ing the soldier race on which she has trusted
 hitherto becomes the huger by every mile of the
 distance.

We come now to the affair of the greased car-
 tridges. Every Englishman in India knows that

the reverence of the Hindoo for the cow has the same practical results as the abhorrence of the Mussulman for the hog, in leading each to avoid touching with the lips anything that has come from the holy or the unclean animal. Every Englishman in India knows that our Bengal army was recruited precisely amongst those classes of the Indian people in which these feelings of reverence and abhorrence respectively are strongest,—the Brahmin, the Rajpoot, the Mussulman. And yet, in the teeth of these facts, with facts of recent date, showing the apprehensions entertained by natives of hostile designs towards caste on the part of their rulers,¹ the Indian Government seems to have made up, for the use of the Bengal soldiery, in Bengal itself, by men of the lowest caste, cartridges in which both beef fat and hog's lard were employed! Had it, of malice prepense, sought to fan into flame the discontents of Oude annexation, it could not have pursued a more effective course. In vain may it afterwards have changed the grease used for an unobjectionable material—may it have used every means to convince the sepoys that their fears were henceforth unreasonable. The mischief had been done; the biters of the cartridges were polluted; a common insult had been perpetrated on Hindoo and Mussulman by the Feringhee Government. I take it, that from the day when the lascar asked water of the Brahmin sepoy at Barrackpore, boasting that they

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¹ Even amongst the Mussulmen of Bengal an absurd panic seems to have spread in the early part of 1855, that the Government were about to forbid circumcision! (See *Friend of India*, January 25th, 1855.)

PART II. were now, or would soon be, all equal, mutiny
History. was inevitable.¹

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Strange to say, indeed, as has been well observed by the writer of the able memoir from Umballa which has lately appeared in the *Times*, the Mussulman soldiers at first stood staunch. Habitual hostility to the Hindoo seems to have kept them aloof from him. But soon it seems to have flashed across their mind that the Brahmin mutiny could be turned to the profit of the faith. Old prophecies of the fall of the English power at the lapse of a century, seemed to fit in with the time. The grievance of Oude annexation was common to Mussulman and Hindoo from that country. The cartridge grievance was common to Mussulman and Hindoo, whencesoever they might come. But what should be the common standard, the common rallying-point? The King of Delhi and his capital afforded them. The attachment to that sovereign, as Mr. Sullivan states, at the close of his instructive pamphlet of 1852, "Remarks on the Affairs of India," is so strong with all natives of rank, both Mussulman and Hindoo, that, to use Lord Hastings' words, it is "capable of superseding the most thorough conviction of interest, or even the strongest personal wishes." That feeling had been revived by many events of late years. The

¹ I attach no particular value to the fact that the mutineers have been found using these cartridges. Possibly the only ones who have used them were those already polluted by them. But in a struggle so desperate as the one in which they are engaged, it is not unnatural to suppose that pollution itself may be risked for self-defence, or for vengeance against those who are deemed to have purposely sought to inflict it.

phantom sovereign had sent the ablest native of the day, Rammohun Roy, to England, under Lord William Bentinck, and he had not been recognised. He had written to the Queen in 1849, and his letter had not been forwarded. The insolent vagaries of an English acting Resident at Delhi were not forgotten. The murderers of another were honoured as martyrs. Europeans were so unpopular in the ancient Mahomedan capital, that to none but native troops was the care of the arsenal and fortifications confided. What a place for the centre of an insurrection against the Feringhee! The wily Mahratta Brahmin instantly placed his own wrongs at the service of the great name which had been invoked. The descendant of Seevajee was the willing servant of the descendant of Aurungzebe. Himself resident almost on the borders of Oude, he was a ready-found leader in a natural focus of revolt. And, hate the scoundrel as we may, we dare not overlook the determination with which he has kept us at bay hitherto, and has poured on his soldiers in battle after battle against Havelock's hero-band.

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In pointing out the annexation of Oude and the greased cartridges as the main occasion of the revolt, I do not mean to exclude other subordinate ones. At an early period of the crisis, mention was made of a late invaliding regulation which must have been of a nature to create great discontent, by which soldiers were not to be invalided so long as they were fit for cantonment duty. The consequence would necessarily be, that old soldiers, instead of retiring at once upon a pension, to spread the praises of the Company's

PART II. liberality at their respective villages, would be
History. kept against their will in the ranks, shut out
 LECT. XVI. from promotion. Surely the trifling economy
 which might result from such a measure could
 never countervail the repinings which it would
 be sure to breed. Again, it has also been stated,
 and I think with much show of truth, that the
 much-needed improvements which have lately
 taken place in India in barracks, for the Euro-
 peans, have produced an uneasy feeling among
 the sepoys, lest measures should be taken to
 deprive them of their freedom and privacy by
 similar arrangements. Complaints seem also to
 have been rife as to the mode of paying the
 troops. I have already alluded, moreover, to the
 deep sensation produced throughout India by
 the late financial juggles of the Government in
 the matter of its loans, which have been actually
 quoted by mutineers in their own justification.

Lastly, we must not omit to notice the
 dangerous effect of the policy pursued of late
 years by the Government in respect to adoption.
 I am not now speaking of any particular case ;
 I am referring to those results which have been
 actually foretold for several years, by men some-
 what better acquainted with India than my Lord
 Dalhousie.

“If you do away,” said General Briggs, “with the rights
 of adoption with respect to the princes of India, the next
 question will be whether, in the case of estates which you
 yourselves have conferred on officers for their services, or
 upon other individuals for their merits, they should be
 allowed to adopt If you are to do away with the right
 of individuals to adopt, you will shake the faith of the people
 of India ; you will influence that opinion which has hitherto
 maintained you in your power ; and that influence will thrill
 through your army Your army is derived from the

peasantry of the country, who have rights; and if those rights are infringed upon, you will no longer have to depend on the fidelity of that army. You have a native army of 250,000 men to support your power, and it is on the fidelity of that army your power rests. But you may rely on it, if you infringe the institutions of the people of India, that army will sympathise with them; for they are part of the population: and in every infringement you may make upon the rights of individuals, you infringe upon the rights of men who are either themselves in the army, or upon their sons, their fathers, or their relatives. Let the fidelity of your army be shaken, and your power is gone."¹

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A striking warning, surely, in the face of recent events.

¹ Quoted in the India Reform Tract, No. 4, "The Native States of India," p. 18.

PART III.

QUESTIONS OF THE PRESENT.

“India, in order to become an attached dependency of Great Britain, must be governed for her own sake, and not for the sake of the 800 or 1,000 individuals who are sent from England to make their fortunes. They are totally incompetent to the charge; and in their hands administration in all its civil branches, revenue, judicial and police, has been a failure.”—*Lord Wm. Bentinck.*

LECTURE XVII.

THE MILITARY QUESTION—THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION—THE RACE QUESTION.

I. The Military Question: More English Troops; Enlistment of Low Castes; Better Discipline—To hold India permanently by English Troops impossible, and immoral—High-Caste Enlistment a Failure through our own Fault—Danger of Low-Caste Enlistment—Need of the Soldierly Spirit—The Bengal Army not singular in its Want of Discipline—Disarming. II. The Religious Question: Mischiefs of the Unchristian Policy—Christianity must be encouraged—Danger of wanton Interference with Caste—How Caste Difficulties may be overcome—Hints to Missionaries. III. The Race Question: More Englishmen wanted, but not more English-speaking Bipedes—Maltreatment of Native Princes—Yet we owe to them the Maintenance of our Rule—Melting away of the Contingents—The Native Princes must be left Free—No more Annexation, but Restoration of Territory—Justice required for the Native Princes—Liberal Advancement should be given to faithful Natives.

WE have not only to reckon up what hints the past history affords towards the understanding of the present mutiny; we have also to consider what questions that mutiny raises as to the results of the past,—what lessons it suggests for the future.

I. One class of lessons are very obvious,—are current already on all lips. The mutiny teaches us, we are told, that it is on English troops that we are mainly to rely for retaining India, mixed, perhaps, with men of other nations; that, so far as we are to rely on native troops, we must

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PART III. prefer to high-castes, low-castes and no-castes ;
The Present. that we must mass our army, so as to prevent
 LECT. its being frittered away in detachments ; free
 XVII. it from civil duties by confiding these to an efficient police ; give more power to commanding officers ; introduce, in every way, a more efficient discipline.

All these counsels are wise for the time being ; some, for all time. Most of them were put forth in vain by Sir Charles Napier and others, years ago, but have only now won their crushing weight of demonstration. It is necessary, however, not to suffer ourselves to be carried away by them too far ; not to view them as all-sufficing ; to examine under what limitations they must be used.

Take, for instance, the question of the employment of English soldiers. That India needs, this next year, 50,000 English soldiers, I do not doubt ; that 100,000, wisely employed, would not, just now, be too many, I doubt as little.

But, as far as I can judge from careful inquiry amongst those competent, it is simply idle to talk of holding India permanently by an army of 100,000 Englishmen, as we hear said sometimes. Do those who talk so largely know or recollect that every European soldier costs 100*l.* by the time he is landed in India ? that his tenure of life when there is precisely that of a Cuban slave ? that a European regiment has to renew itself in seven years ? Thus, 50,000 Europeans only represent a dead loss of human capital of more than 700,000*l.* a year, over and above pay and other current expenses. What would it be if the European had the duties

thrown upon him which are now thrown upon the sepoy; if he had to march and do all his work habitually in the hot weather? I have asked, and the answer of an Indian officer has been—His life would not be worth two years' purchase. Neither could India stand such a drain of gold¹, nor England of blood, as would be required for such a purpose.

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But should we be justified, morally, in holding India, if we could, upon such a tenure? In keeping down 180,000,000 of people by the sword of 100,000 Englishmen? India is the Italy of Asia, I have said; is England prepared to be its Austria? Surely the theory of maintaining an Indian empire by means of a native army was right and good. If its application has proved premature, do we know yet which has been in fault—the theory, or those who have applied it?

What I have said of an English army applies equally to any other foreign troops. I believe

¹ The following was the expenditure in India of the Company's government for 1855-6:—

Civil and Political	£2,276,262
Judicial and Police	2,510,799
Public Works	1,881,606
Military	10,417,369
Naval	598,070
Prince of Wales Island, Singa- pore, &c.	64,612
Mint	62,573
Interest on Debt	2,044,318

£19,855,609

From this it will appear that the military charges, before the present mutiny, comprised more than half of the expenditure; and there was nearly a million of deficiency even then.

PART III. it is quite right for the present, that we should
The Present. show to the natives, by means of our West
 LECT. Indian black troops, of Kaffir regiments or others,
 XVII. that we can call to our aid other and more
 vigorous races, born under a tropical sun as well
 as themselves. But the permanent employment
 of such means to maintain our empire, would be
 to confess that that empire is devoid of all moral
 ground of existence, of all foothold in the affec-
 tions and sympathies of the populations over
 whom it is exercised.

Take, again, the question of the enlistment of low instead of high castes. Undoubtedly it is our policy, in one point of view, to appeal to the many against the few; to Hindoos against Mus- sulmen; to the low-caste masses against the select castes. But do not let us imagine that this will guarantee us against mutiny; or that mutiny, if it occurs, is likely to be less atrocious in its excesses. Quite the contrary. Mutiny has been anything but unknown amongst the low-caste armies of Bombay and Madras. A large portion of the Bombay army is tainted with it at this hour. The Madras troops even are not untainted; a Madras regiment in Bur- ma, though the fact has been little noticed, has refused to receive the cartridges, and, for want of means of coercion, has been suffered to have its way. And the most serious mutiny that ever occurred in India before the Vellore mutiny, was one among Madras troops. Probably one main cause of the staunchness of the Bombay and Madras troops hitherto, has been the general contempt for them of the proud races of the North. Suppose that cause of antagonism

removed,—suppose the Bengal native troops reduced to the caste level of those of Bombay and Madras, and what will be the result? One cause of mutiny may be taken away; but if mutiny arises from any other cause, it is likely to be intensified and universalised by assimilation of feeling amongst the three armies.

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The theory of high-caste enlistment, also, was surely in itself a right and good one, if it had not been so exclusively pursued. What was its object? As I have said before—to engage in our service the bravest, ablest, noblest of the Indian races; those of whom it was known that where they led, others would follow. Again here I say, if the application of that theory was premature, where lies the fault? The enlistment of the higher castes required this,—that the English officer should be at the greater pains to maintain his intellectual, his moral, his practical superiority over them. He must be keener than Brahmin or Mussulman, more chivalrous than the Rajpoot, a more thorough soldier than any. What will happen if he is not? Why, precisely what has happened. The Brahmin plots; the Mussulman dreams of empire; the fiery Rajpoot maddens into fury. Is it creditable, think you, that we should have to say at last: “These powerful races, the flower of that vast country, who have fought so many gallant battles for us, we can employ them no longer: we dare not trust them: they are too much for us?” Yet this is what is meant by the cry for exclusive low-caste enlistment.¹

¹ At a time when this cry is so prevalent, it is well, indeed, to recollect that only a few years ago a very able officer, the

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But when we talk in the same breath of sepoy atrocities and enlistment of low castes, we really know not what we say. For of all the Indian races, those from which the Bengal army has been drawn have been singled out by competent observers as the most humane. Listen to Mr. Elphinstone,—by no means a passionate Philo-Hindoo. “The best specimen,” he says, “of the Hindoo character, retaining its peculiarities, while divested of many of its defects, is found among the Rajpoots and other military classes in Gange-tic Hindostan. It is there we are most likely to gain a clear conception of their high spirit, their enthusiastic courage, and generous self-devotion, so singularly combined with gentleness of manners, and softness of heart, together with a boyish playfulness, and almost infantine simplicity.”¹ The less civilized races, amongst whom we shall,

late Major Cunningham, complained that low-caste enlistment had been already pushed too far. It is “but too apparent,” he wrote, “that the active military spirit of the sepoys, when on service in India, is not now what it was . . . This is partly due . . . to the practice of largely enlisting tame-spirited men of low caste, because they are well-behaved, or pliant intriguing Brahmins, because they can write, and are intelligent.”—*History of the Sikhs*, p. 331, n. †.

Of the childish formalism which has hitherto pervaded our system of enlistment in India, let the following sample suffice :—There is no more important body in the country than the Nizam's Contingent. Practically, it keeps the peace of all Southern India. But it is dangerously over-leavened with Mussulmen, in a Mussulman country. An Indian officer of my acquaintance had induced about fifty Sikhs of the Deckan to offer themselves for enlistment. Tall, strapping fellows, hereditary foes to the Mussulman, they would have constituted the very element which would have been required as a counterpoise. They were refused admission to the service *on account of their beards*, which their religion forbids them to shave off!

¹ History of India, Vol. I. pp. 375-6.

no doubt, do well to recruit, are undoubtedly more fierce and cruel than those whom they will supplant. So, of the two on which we are now placing our main reliance as auxiliaries, the Sikhs are represented by most observers as specially vicious and cruel; the Goorkhas (notwithstanding many good qualities), Sir Charles Napier describes as "horrid little savages." Let us use such tools in default of others; but do not let us imagine that if ever another mutiny breaks out, English women or English children will be safer in the hands of the Sikh, than of the Rajpoot.¹

Again, I have no doubt that it is necessary to reform the discipline of the reconstituted Bengal army; to mass it as suggested; to free it from civil duties; to make each corps more of a self-sufficient whole, by checking the tendency,—a growing one, I understand, of late years,—to draw all power to head-quarters. But all this machinery, however useful to keep up discipline, cannot make it. You may by concentration facilitate conspiracy and revolt—diminish the influence of officers. It is the soldierly spirit,—the noble spirit which lies at the bottom of every code of war,—the spirit of doing one's best, and not merely abstaining from doing wrong, now, thank God! revived,—which requires to be kept up and cherished.

And here I must protest against what seems to me a very unworthy cry against the late Bengal army. That its discipline was not so efficient as that of the Bombay troops, is ad-

¹ Drunkenness is avowedly characteristic of the low castes, and seems to be so also of all our new auxiliaries. The last surprise of Bithoor by the revolted sepoy, arose solely from this cause.

PART III. mitted by so many various observers, that I think
The Present. the fact can hardly be doubted; nor is there any-
 LECT. thing here to wonder at, since Bombay, lying
 XVII. nearest to Europe, is naturally most under Eu-
 } ropean influence. Yet, whatever may have been
 the faults of the Bengal officers, they have been
 bitterly expiated; and I have yet to learn that
 they were peculiar to them. Sir Charles Napier,
 —when in Scinde he wrote that, “if we continued
 to imitate the Eastern style, our officers would
 deteriorate, and *the native officers would take the
 empire from us*,” and that “a radical reform of
 the Indian army” was necessary,¹—had both Bom-
 bay and Bengal troops around him, and made
 no exception in favour of the former. And as
 to Madras, the most abundant testimony is at
 hand in the work of a Madras officer,² Captain
 Albert Hervey, published in 1850—the very year
 of Sir Charles Napier’s command-in-chief. Al-
 though the two are men of entirely different
 calibre, and do not seem to have trodden a foot
 of common ground, the one voice is in many
 respects almost an echo of the other. Sir Charles
 Napier’s complaints, that officers on guard go to
 bed, that they drink, neglect their duty, and leave
 the management of the sepoy to the native
 officers, are confirmed point by point by the
 Madras officer—who, moreover, indicates the
 existence of a degree of brutality amongst many
 Madras officers towards their men, which, I
 trust, was never equalled in Bengal—which
 probably the high-caste sepoy would not have
 submitted to.

There is another military measure now talked
 of, of a more sweeping character. We must

¹ Life, Vol. III. p. 336.

² Ten Years in India.

disarm, it is said, the whole population of the North-West. Whether this be needful or not, it must be impossible for an Englishman to judge from hence. But if such a measure be indeed required, it tells surely a bitter tale as to the character of our sway. No native Government, Mussulman or Hindoo, that I am aware of, ever deemed this necessary to its preservation. We cherish, in England, the right to have arms, as one of the proudest marks of our freedom ; it is secured to us by the Bill of Rights. If we take it away from the warlike races of the North-West, it will show that our power is incompatible with their freedom ; that we seek to reduce them to the level of the humbler races of the South.

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II. Just below, as it were, these obvious, honest, military lessons of the mutiny, lie others, which seem to some as if they went to the very root of the matter, yet are urged by different voices and sound exactly opposite to each other. "See," say the one class of voices, and the loudest by far just now, "the consequences of our pandering to Hindoo idolatry, to Mussulman fanaticism ! This mutiny is God's judgment upon us for our sins, as not having ruled India by a professedly Christian Government. We must no longer play false to our faith, lest a worse thing fall upon us. Shrines and altars must be polluted, if need be—caste must be trampled down—India must be Christianised." The other voices are somewhat lost just now in the din, but repeat, nevertheless, their own conclusions as pertinaciously as any. "See," say they, "the consequences of offending native prejudices !—of allowing fanatical missionaries to go through the

PART III. length and breadth of a heathen land!—of suffering officers even to play the preacher, in their own regiments! If India can ever be Christianized, it must be by slow degrees. We are too few in India to travel out of the safe old policy of Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings. Not at their doors lies the blood of Delhi and of Cawnpore.”

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It may seem strange, but I believe each of these voices to contend for a truth; I believe that each draws a useful lesson from passing events. I believe that our rule in India has been both unchristian, and irritative of native religious feeling.

It has been unchristian. I can conceive of nothing more disgraceful to a Christian people, than the policy for a long time adopted by the English rulers of India¹ towards the professors of their own faith. The official countenance long given to idolatrous worship—the positive discouragements given in many ways to Christianity, some of which I have indicated already—the refusal of Lord Wellesley, in 1799, to allow Marshman and Ward to settle or print within British territory, whereby they were compelled to take up their abode under the protection of the Danish flag, at Serampore—Sir George Barlow's renewed prohibition to Chater and Robinson, in 1806, to “*take any step*, by conversation or otherwise, for persuading the natives to

¹ In direct opposition to early charters, *e. g.* that of 1698, which requires the Company to provide ministers, who shall “learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos.” See Anderson's “History of the Colonial Church,” Vol. II. p. 480.

embrace Christianity"—the expulsion from our army of the Brahmin convert, under Lord Hastings in 1819—the exclusion from office of Christians in Tanjore, when we took possession of the country—the special poll-tax, levied in some parts upon native converts—all these measures, I believe, were directly calculated to lower us in the opinion of natives of all shades of religion. It was impossible for them to believe that their Feringhee masters had any faith at all, when they saw them thus directly checking its extension. "I have frequently," says Mr. Clarkson, "witnessed the astonishment of the natives at my propounding religious truth . . . They have frequently said, '*We had thought that these Europeans had been ignorant of religion* ; but now speaketh this man wisely, like a real shastri.'"¹

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It is time assuredly that our Government in India should embrace an entirely different course. It is time, not only that it should, more rigidly, pointedly than ever, disconnect itself from all Hindoo or Mahomedan worship, but that it should give direct encouragement to the profession of Christianity. Common justice, indeed, seems to require this. The neglected native convert has shared the mutineer's fury with the most godless European. The whole Christian population—English, East Indian, Portuguese, Syrian, native—should be shown to be under the especial protection and patronage of the Government; education should be fostered among them; they should be invited to enlist; promoted to office; selected as recipients of trust. I have heard an Indian officer well suggest that

¹ India and the Gospel, p. 164.

PART III. it would be advisable to limit to Christian
The Present. soldiers, of whatever colour, the admission to the
 LECT. artillery, and to employ them as far as possible
 XVII. in guarding arsenals and other momentous posts.
 He adds even, that we need not be too strict
 about their being more than nominal Christians,
 as, in the event of a mutiny, their lives would
 be equally forfeited. Profession, however, would
 be, I trust, only the first step to practice.

Let us now, however, take the other side of the question. Has our rule of India—although confessedly, designedly, not such as to promote Christianity—been such as to excite religious passion against us? Has the conduct of individuals been such? On the first point, I believe, undoubtedly, it has. Just in proportion as we hid our faith under a bushel—as we quenched the spirit of Christian enterprise—put contempt on missionaries—just in that proportion did we awaken and foster among the natives the belief that our Christianity, like their own degenerate religions, lay entirely in some outward practice, or pointed disregard of their own practice;—just in that proportion did we kindle their fear lest our object should be to force them into conformity with ourselves. I have said before, and I say again, I cannot conceive of any greater disgrace to a Christian nation, than that, after two and a half centuries of contact with the races of India, its Christianity should be deemed by Hindoo and Mussulman to consist in eating beef and pork; than that the class of all others most in contact with Englishmen should believe—aye, should even affect to believe—that we sought to make Christians of them by the biting

of certain cartridges! The depth of English irreligion in India, which such a fact discloses, is surely quite awful.

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It thus happens that the natives have never given us credit for our professions that we did not wish to interfere with their religion. It was easier for them to believe that we lied to them in saying so, than that we could lie to ourselves in doing what we said. Hence, Mr. Clarkson, in the very next paragraph to that in which he speaks of the native conviction, that we are "ignorant of religion," says also that "the missionary is viewed by many *with peculiar prejudice, arising from the idea that he is an agent of Government, commissioned to destroy the people's faith;*" and this misapprehension, he says, is found "in all agricultural districts."¹ Thus, by a Divine judgment, we have earned at once the reproach of godlessness and of a coercive faith. And I have in part pointed out before how all our interference, on grounds of humanity, with practices connected with religion—with human sacrifice, suttee, Thuggee, the law against the re-marriage of widows, the forfeiture of property by conversion, &c. &c.—must have strengthened the feeling that the English Government was by law gradually invading the territory of the native religions, and must be preparing to suppress them. The spread of education of late years must have powerfully developed this belief. False science and false religion are so inseparably connected in the

¹ "India and the Gospel," pp. 164-5. The existence of the same feeling appears repeatedly in the report of the Calcutta Missionary Conference of 1855.

PART III. East, that the one cannot be set right without
The Present. injuring the other. A missionary in Behar
 LECT. mentions an attack made upon him by an old
 XVII. Brahmin because of the geography which he
 taught. The missionary tried to pacify him by
 saying that he had been only teaching the children
 what the sea was, what a river, a mountain, &c.
 "These are the very things," he interrupted,
 "which you teach wrong to the children. You say
 the earth is round, and the sun stands still, and
 the earth moves round the sun. . . . I am an old
 man, and know what our shastras say about sun
 and moon; what this sahib teaches is contrary to
 what our forefathers believed; it is all erroneous
 and falsehood."¹ It is obvious that the Govern-
 ment school, from which the Scriptures are most
 jealously excluded, is liable to the same objections.

So clearly, indeed, is all scientific education
 an attack upon the religions of India, that I
 doubt greatly the expediency of Government
directly promoting any but the education of the
 Christian population. Let Government schools
 and colleges be Christian schools and colleges;
 let these only be established where there is a
 Christian population, whose wants they may
 fairly supply. Let all scientific education out of
 Christianity be primarily voluntary; let Govern-
 ment encourage it by grants, as any other sci-
 entific education, and check it by inspection. I
 believe, by such a course, it would honourably
 promote Christianity, honourably encourage sci-
 ence, and yet, at the same time, leave to religious
 enterprise the work of Christian proselytism, and

¹ Wylie's "Bengal as a Field of Missions," pp. 324-5.

to native thirst for knowledge the work of undoing native superstitions.

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But the more honestly, openly, truly Christian we make our rule in India, the more carefully and reverently, I believe, we shall abstain from any mere insult to religious prejudice; from anything which is likely to foster the belief that our creed is one of outward observance. Gallows, high as ever Haman hung from, deserve to be the fate of the men, whoever they may be, who have perilled the safety of our Indian empire, occasioned the shedding of so much innocent and precious blood, through the use of a little lard and suet. St. Paul would "eat no flesh while the world standeth," rather than "make his brother to offend." Better, if that could have saved them, that ox nor hog should be slaughtered from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, than that the well of Cawnpore should have been filled with Englishwomen's mangled corpses.

The best observers will tell us, that the prejudices of caste are far from being irremediably obstructive when wisely dealt with; that they may even afford admirable tools in hands that know how to handle them. In the second year of the first Burmese war, an English officer was leading his company to Arracan. The roads being impassable in Chittagong, it became necessary to embark the troops. But now arose a caste difficulty. The Hindoo sepoys' earthen vessels would be polluted by being on the same planks with those of the Mussulmen. The difficulty was great. The Barrackpore mutiny had arisen in the previous year from not dissimilar causes. The accounts of the mortality in

PART III. Arracan were appalling. In this dilemma the
The Present. officer called to his aid a Brahmin pay-sergeant,
 LECT. a man of bad character in many respects, but of
 XVII. great influence and surpassing ability. He ap-
 pealed to the Brahmin's military pride, dwelling
 on the disgrace there would be in stopping half-
 way when going to attack an enemy. He ap-
 pealed to his vanity in treating him as the man
 who could help all parties through the difficulty.
 The Brahmin told him, that whilst earthen ves-
 sels would be polluted, wooden ones would not,
 and, if he could procure them, promised to do
 his best with the men. The only ones that
 could be procured from the nearest town were
 spirit-casks. Raw spirits would be, of them-
 selves, a pollution. The officer gave orders that
 they should be most carefully washed out before
 they were forwarded; but nevertheless, after
 they had been procured and filled, one of the
 sepoys, smelling at one of them, began to hint
 suspicions. The officer made a sign to his Bra-
 hmin coadjutor (who, of course, knew all about it).
 He sent the man with a buffet reeling against
 the bulwarks. "You idiot! don't you know
 the difference between rum and sugar?" Not a
 murmur occurred afterwards. The men fought
 —aye, and rotted with disease—uncomplaining.
 Yet who does not see, that a different temper,
 an attempt at coercion, would, probably, have
 led to mutiny and bloodshed?

Some years later, the same officer, when in po-
 litical employ at Jyepore, in Rajpootana—a city
 singular, amongst all native cities, by the breadth
 of its magnificent streets—was engaged with the
 native authorities in various measures of munici-

pal improvement. One of these—in the propriety of which all concurred—was the clearing of one of the two main streets from a crowd of stalls, sheds, and huts, which had clustered together within it. Due notice of removal was given to the squatters. They neglected it. At the expiration of the notice, a further delay of one month was given them, with the intimation that after that time their various erections would be removed by force. The month passed, and still they held their ground; resisted the efforts of the police for their removal. Blood was shed the first day. The second day, the head municipal officer, a Mussulman, hid in gateways, and other lurking places, 150 men of the scavenger caste—whose touch is pollution—armed with their brooms. Again the police appeared on the field of battle; again the squatters showed fight. Hereupon, at a given signal, the 150 scavengers burst forth from their hiding-places. The whole squatter population took to its heels, and the street was cleared within the day. They might have let themselves be cut to pieces with lawful steel; but the scavenger's broom was more than they could face. The fear of pollution was stronger than the fear of death. So may caste-prejudice, skilfully used, be made a means of avoiding tumult and bloodshed.

Instances like these might be multiplied a hundred-fold. There is nothing in them in anywise derogatory to Christianity; nothing which is not perfectly consistent with it. They form part of that wisdom of the serpent which is the necessary Christian ally of dove-like simplicity. They may belong to the same habit of mind by

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PART III. which St. Paul made himself "all things to all
The Present. men." They may flow from a careful, loving study
 LECT. of human character under different aspects from
 XVII. that with which we are most familiar; from a conscientious endeavour never to imperil high ends by indifference to lowly means; never to coerce, where one may lawfully conciliate. I wish, I confess, that I saw more of this spirit amongst our missionaries themselves. I wish the Christian, native or European, were not known by the nickname of "cow-eater." I wish I felt sure that when they speak of their preaching as kindling, "when propounded to the heathen, an enmity that speaks in the eye, rages with the mouth, and lights up with anger every lineament of the face,"¹ that enmity was only such as St. Paul might kindle in the Pharisee.

Let me not be mistaken. I certainly do not consider this outbreak to be attributable to Christian missionarising; and, notwithstanding Lord Ellenborough's great experience in Indian matters, I must hold him utterly mistaken on this point. Nay, he has been pronounced to have been so by heathen lips themselves, at a meeting of the Calcutta British and Indian Association on the 25th July, 1857, when Baboo Duckinarunjun Mookerjee, adverting to Lord Ellenborough's speech, pointedly denied that either Lord Canning's subscriptions to Missionary Societies, or the exertions of the missionaries, were the cause of the revolt.

"However," he declared, "we may differ with the Christian Missionaries in religion, I speak the minds of the Society—and, generally, those of the people—when

¹ Clarkson's "India and the Gospel," p. 174.

I say, that as regards their learning, purity of morals, and disinterestedness of intention to promote our weal, no doubt is entertained throughout the land; nay, they are held by us in the highest esteem We cannot forbear doing justice to the venerable ministers of religion, who, I do here most solemnly asseverate, in piety and righteousness, alone are fit to be classed with those Rishees and Mohatmas of antiquity who derived their support, and those of their charitable boarding-schools, from voluntary subscriptions, and consecrated their lives to the cause of God's knowledge." (See "Lord Ellenborough's Blunder respecting the Cause of the Mutiny," printed at the Baptist Mission Press, at Calcutta.)

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But having said thus much, I must also say that, in some instances, the mode of preaching the Gospel adopted, on their own showing, by Christian missionaries, appears to me likely to excite the bitterest feelings. "If your opponent be a Brahmin," said one of them, at the Mission Conference, "you can sometimes say, 'Are you aware, brother, what a dreadful sin you committed the other day, and the terrible punishment that awaits you for it? Oh that pretty little daughter of yours! why did you sell her? Yes, you sold her in marriage for a little gain, because you are covetous! where is wickedness like this?'" Is this Christian charity? Another makes "Exposure of Hindooism" a regular part of his school-training for the natives. Better, surely, by far, is the course pointed out by an old missionary, who says that "he formerly used to go far in attacking Hindooism, but now finds it more profitable to preach the simple Gospel; to preach Christ, the story of his life, his death, his resurrection and ascension; his presence with us now, and the certainty of his future judgment."¹

We see, then, perhaps, now, how both the

¹ Mission Conference, 1855. See pp. 56, 137, 63.

PART III. religious lessons of the mutiny are true, though
The Present. opposite. Our Government has been unchristian ;
 LECT. it is right that it should be distinctively Chris-
 XVII. tian. But it has also been directly aggressive as
 against the native religions in particular, through
 its educational systems. It is right that it
 should cease to be so. Whilst fostering existing
 Christianity, let it leave proselytism to the
 churches. Let it abstain, with shame and re-
 morse, from any wanton attack upon native pre-
 judice which may encourage the belief, too
 prevalent already, that Christianity is a mere
 outward, negative thing, a denial of religion, a
 denial of caste. And let our missionary teaching
 follow steadfastly the course—which, I am thank-
 ful to say, seems generally preferred,—of preach-
 ing “the simple Gospel,” and abstaining from
 idle attacks upon Hindooism. Falsehood always
 crumbles when the truth is set up.

III. A little beyond the religious lessons lie
 what I may call, for want of a simpler word, the
 ethnological ones—the lessons of race. These, too,
 sound opposite, according to the quarters from
 which they proceed. Some say, “All comes
 from our not having made India sufficiently
 English. More Englishmen are what she wants ;
 more English officers, more English magistrates ;
 more English colonists.”¹ Others, on the con-
 trary,—“It is the compression of the native
 mind and hopes by the English monopoly of
 office, the humbling of native princes, the absorp-
 tion of native territories,—which have rendered
 the evil possible, which have made it so difficult
 to master.”

¹ Sir Charles Trevelyan adds the use of the English alpha-
 bet to express the Oriental languages. A useful suggestion,
 no doubt, if feasible.

Here, again, I believe, both classes of critics are right. I believe, and I have said it ere this, it has been a grievous fault in our administration of India that we have not sought more to make India English. But I believe it is one equally grievous, that we have sought so much to un-nationalize it.

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We have not enough English officers to leaven our army with an English spirit ; not enough English magistrates to leaven our administration with English justice ; not enough English colonists to leaven our subjects with English freedom. Granted, a thousand times over. The policy which forbade English settlement in India till 1834 was short-sighted in the extreme. It is a national disgrace, that, as shown by a late and much-quoted Parliamentary paper, the total English-born population in India, not in the Company's service, after a century of occupation, should be 10,006, of whom only a few hundreds resident out of the three Presidencies, and only some odd tens and units resident elsewhere than in Bengal. Whilst this state of things lasts, India can never be considered an integral limb of our empire. Civilians even now acknowledge that English colonization requires to be promoted in India.

But do not let us suppose that the Englishmen who are to make India English are merely to be so many white bipeds, born within the four seas and talking our language. Any number of so-called English officers will not imbue the English army with English manliness, so long as, to use Captain Hervey's words, "young officers, on first commencing their military

PART III. career, talk about *those horrible black nigger*
The Present. *sepoys*," "look down upon them as brute beasts,"

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"make use of opprobrious language towards them,"
 "curse and swear at them."¹ Any number of
 English magistrates will not create a sense of
 English justice, if, as I shall have to show here-
 after, our courts are recognised as engines of
 oppression and extortion. and creators of perjury,
 —our police as false swearers and torturers. Any
 number of English colonists will not create an
 atmosphere of English freedom, whilst, as in
 Bengal, they lay themselves open to the charge
 of using the land revenue system as a means
 of oppression and violence towards the natives,
 whether cultivators or landholders.

Again, I believe it to be most true that the
 crushing of native hopes, especially through our
 annexation of Oude, has had much to say to
 the outbreak; the curtailment of the power of
 native princes, much to say to its development.
 There is bitter truth in Sir Thomas Munro's
 saying, that the advantages of subjection to
 English rule in India "are dearly bought. *They*
are purchased by the sacrifice of independence, of
national character, and of whatever renders a
people respectable." "The effect of this state of
 things," he goes on to say, "is observable in *all*
the British provinces, whose inhabitants are cer-
tainly the most abject race in India. No elevation
 of character can be expected among men who,
 in the military line, cannot attain to any rank
 above that of captain, where they are as much
 below an English ensign as an ensign is below
 the Commander-in-Chief; and who in the civil

¹ Ten Years in India, Vol. I. p. 94.

line can hope for nothing beyond some petty judicial or revenue office, in which they may by corrupt means make up for their slender salary." So wrote the Duke of Wellington, that "we had added to the number and the description of our enemies, by depriving of employment those who heretofore found it" in the service of the native princes; that "wherever we spread ourselves" "we increase this evil; we throw out of employment and means of subsistence all who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies, or have plundered the country."

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As respects the native princes, indeed, it were fit that we should open our eyes to the fact that their faithfulness has on this occasion saved India for us. Notwithstanding the energy of our Lawrences, our Neills, our Nicholsons, our Wilsons; notwithstanding the chivalry of our Outrams, the pure heroism of our Havelocks; notwithstanding the ever-to-be-remembered defences of Agra and Lucknow, or of that billiard-room of Arrah, we could not have held our ground but for the abstinence of almost all the native princes from aggression,—the active co-operation of a few. Had the Nepaulese descended from their mountain fastnesses upon Calcutta,—had the Burmese poured in upon it through Chittagong,—had Goolab Sing, or the noble chiefs of Puttiala or Jheend made appeal to the patriotism of the Sikh Khalsa,—had Scindia or Holkar placed themselves at the head of their revolted contingents,—had the chiefs of Rajpootana sprung to the van of a Hindoo insurrection,—had the Nizam proclaimed to the Indian

PART III. Mahommedans the holy war,—had any one of
The Present. these events happened, I say, and who dare
 LECT. assert what disasters might have not have oc-
 XVII. curred? Had several of them happened at once,
 as they might very likely have done, and what
 English life in India could have escaped destruc-
 tion? It is easy to accuse these men of selfish
 motives. I dare say such may have mingled in
 their conduct. But I believe it would be neither
 wise nor right to inquire too curiously into it.
 The generality of the fact is the best proof that
 some higher, more human motive than mere fear
 or cunning must have prompted it. Such a
 conspiracy of prudence was surely never wit-
 nessed amongst them. A prevalent good faith
 is the only rational solution of the mystery.
 Yet I believe these men, one and all, have had
 bitter cause of complaint against us. The history
 of the relations of the English Government
 towards the native princes is far from creditable
 to us: so little creditable, indeed, that a work
 published by the late Colonel Sutherland on the
 subject, in 1833,¹ was bought up by the Indian
 Government, for the special use of its own ser-
 vants. Yet it is since that period that the most
 flagrant cases of disregard of treaty obligations,
 oppression, and annexation, on our part have
 taken place. Even that invaluable ally of ours,

¹ "Sketches of the Relations subsisting between the British Government of India and the different Native States," by J. Sutherland: 8vo. Calcutta. An abstract of this work, from which I quote, is contained in an article inserted in the "British and Foreign Review," No. XV., which was reprinted, in 1839, by Messrs. Richard and J. E. Taylor. The authors of both the work itself and the review were officers in the Bombay army. The reviewer is a well-known Indian writer, and a distinguished administrator.

the Raja of Puttiala, has been far from well used by us. It is only two or three years since, fancying that there was an appeal from a Governor-General's exercise of authority to the Queen's justice, he sought to come to England, and was stopped at Calcutta itself—so it was stated by one portion of the Indian press—by an intimation from Lord Dalhousie that, if he left the country, his state would be taken possession of and administered by the English. I am bound to say, however, that other newspapers gave a different version, less creditable to himself, of his giving up the idea of a voyage to Europe. Nothing, however, could be more evident in the Government organs than their dislike to such a step.

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It is high time, indeed, that we should alter our course of proceeding towards these princes. Nothing can be more striking than the way in which the chains with which we have sought to bind them have fallen of themselves from off their limbs. What more shrewd and politic than Lord Wellesley's plan of placing in each state a contingent, officered by Englishmen, under the orders of an English Resident? Lo! with the exception, I believe, of a few regiments in the Nizam's country, every contingent has broken loose into mutiny. We filled them with the stalwart men of Oude, so as to assimilate them, as far as might be, to our own service. And now the native princes whom they were to coerce are protecting our own cause and our own countrymen against their late soldiers. Scindia, with his own levies, has been checking the Gwalior Contingent, hindering it, whilst he

PART III. could, from marching upon Agra. The Raja of
The Present. Jodhpore has had to raise troops, and lead them
 LECT. against the Jodhpore legion. Holkar has sedu-
 XVII. lously saved European life and property.

Powerless, then, to coerce these native princes by our contingents,—powerless, well nigh, to protect our own cities against those contingents,—surely we ought, henceforth, to let the princes provide in their own way for their own defence. To limit the forces which they may raise will be but reasonable. To give them the aid of European officers or even troops when asked for, will be but friendly. But no more reliance on contingents,—no more standing threats against those who have proved loyal under the severest trials.

And no more annexation at present, at least ; no annexation in cold blood.¹ Very remarkable are the expressions of an able writer from Unballa, lately published in the *Times* :—“ Though I have been, and perhaps will be, an. annexationist, I am free to confess that in this very

¹ I have frequently quoted Sir Charles Napier, and shall be reminded that he was a declared partisan of annexation, and would not have left a native sovereignty subsisting. Sir Charles was an extremely acute observer, a good ruler, and in many respects high-minded in his individual conduct. But I must look upon him as having been utterly destitute of all political morality. He took delight in the idea of conquest for its own sake, and would have deemed any usurpation justified by subsequent good government of the usurped territory. His personal ambition, moreover, was so intense, that he was evidently haunted by the dream of actual sovereignty. A more un-English character in this respect I do not know ; nor can one be surprised that the magnificent scoundrelism of a Napoleon should have represented for him the highest type of the hero. Despite the genius of such a man, his opinion on the propriety of annexation can bear no more weight than that of a pickpocket on theft.

peculiar crisis *I could well have wished that a larger proportion of Hindostan were held by native chiefs, —by men who have something to lose,—and that those who exist had not been burdened with our Hindostanee contingents ; that Oude had been native, and Gwalior more free.*"¹ The words of the Duke have come sadly true :—"The extension of our territory and influence has been greater than our means." It is time no longer to annex, but to restore. The sole pretext of the annexation of Oude—that of misgovernment by its royal house—has surely vanished in the rising of the whole country against the annexer. Restore the boy-Raja of Sattara, and the whole of the south Mahratta country will cease to mutter of rebellion. Give increase of territory to Puttiala and Jheend, to Gwalior and Indore, to Jodhpore, to every State that has stood our friend, and you will wipe out the remembrance of many a past breach of English faith.

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But, above all, make these Indian princes secure of *justice*. Let the Indian Government be no longer judge in its own cause. Let a well-considered law of escheat be enacted, after due communication with the native States.² Let any

¹ *Times*, 26th October, 1857.

² The stringency and one-sidedness of our Indian rules as to escheat form a marking grievance against us. This comes out, for instance, the more strongly, because only incidentally, in Major Cunningham's "History of the Sikhs." Thus he speaks of a great family, "useful partisans of Lord Lake, but now reduced to comparative insignificance under the operation of the British system of escheat" (p. 59, n. †). Again, with reference to the protected Sikh States, he says that the British functionaries "had to decide on questions of escheat, and being strongly impressed with the superiority of British municipal rule, they strove to prove that collateral heirs had a limited right only" (p. 143).

PART III. case of annexation, suppression of pension, &c.,
The Present. be made the subject of a real judicial inquiry,
 LECT. either before the Supreme Court, or, if the native
 XVII. claimant thinks fit, before the Privy Council.
 Thus each native sovereignty and principality
 would feel that it was an integral part of our
 empire; that it was lifted from the sphere of
 arbitrary power into that of English law and
 justice.

Most of the measures thus suggested are not
 mooted for the first time. As long ago as 1818—
 as 1811—the late General Walker recommended
 not annexation, but restoration of territory to
 native sovereigns.¹ Mr. Sullivan, to whose
 “Remarks on the Affairs of India” I am indebted
 for this last fact, vainly urged, in 1852, both
 restoration of territory, and the giving to native
 princes and chiefs the right of defending, before
 a court of law, their properties and possessions
 against Government aggression. The bare-faced
 fallacy of the usual pretexts for annexation is
 actually incredible when considered. I have
 shown that that of Sattara rested on a plea put
 forth by Lord Dalhousie, endorsed by the Court
 of Directors, which would simply, if maintained
 successfully in this country, cost the Queen her
 throne,—that the words “heirs and successors”
 mean “successors who shall also be lineal heirs,”

¹ I have often heard it sarcastically remarked, by Indian
 officers and others, that we never annexed any territory but
 what yielded a revenue. Yet the results of annexation, as
 shown by Mr. Sullivan and others, have in the long run
 proved financially disastrous; sometimes even from the first.
 Sattara yielded a surplus under its native princes; it has
 become a financial burden to ourselves. Frequently, the
 revenue of the annexed territory in our hands has proved
 less than the tribute paid to us by its late sovereigns.

—a legal fallacy which an attorney's clerk would hardly dare propound before a county court judge. And the more general plea for annexation, in default of other but adoptive sons, whose adoption has not been sanctioned by the paramount authority, is scarcely less offensive. For if viewed according to justice and common sense, the power of consent which is held to be vested in the lord paramount, would exclude the right of confiscation. Was it ever held in a partnership, where partners' relatives, nominees, or representatives might be admitted in respect of their shares with the consent of the others, that by withholding their consent the other partners were entitled to appropriate the share without compensation? Was it ever heard in a joint-stock company, where the consent of the board of directors is declared requisite to a transfer, that by withholding consent the directors might confiscate the share for their own benefit? Was it ever heard that guardians, whose consent was required to a girl's marriage, were entitled, by withholding consent, to enter upon the enjoyment of their ward's fortune? Was it ever heard that a tenant for life, whose consent was required to a sale of the settled estate, was entitled, by withholding his consent, to acquire the fee-simple? I am not here discussing the right of annexation in such cases, so far as it may rest on Hindoo or Mahommedan law; I am merely showing that the reasoning on which it is attempted to be justified to English ears is the very flimsiest that can be conceived, and such as would spread havoc through half the social relations of England, if once admitted amongst ourselves. But without

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PART III. pretending to any knowledge of native law, I
The Present. must observe, that not only do our best-informed
 LECT. Orientalists deny that it sanctions so gross a
 XVII. fallacy as just stated, but the evident universal
 feeling of the Indian people shows that it cannot
 do so. Wherever we have attempted, not to
 exercise the intelligible, conservative right of
 the guardian power of choosing between several
 claimants, but to set aside, for our own benefit,
 the adoption made by native princes, there has
 been a tacit rebellion against our acts. The
 adopted son has remained, in popular parlance,
 invested with his father's dignity. So Nana
 Sahib was called Raja of Bithoor, though his
 adoption was unsanctioned. So to this day the
 adopted child of Pertaub Shean, of Sattara, is
 known only as the "boy-Raja."¹

And thus I believe that, whilst this is the time
 to flood India with Englishmen, it is also the
 time to open wider and wider to natives the
 portals of office and advancement ; that whilst it
 is the time to make the administration of British
 India more thoroughly English, it is also the
 time to leave the native princes more free ; to
 enlarge their territories ; to secure them against
 absorption and wrong. Surely the terrible crisis

¹ It should be observed, that an official disclaimer of the
 annexation policy cannot be too soon published in India,
 and notified to all the native princes. The continuous in-
 pouring of English troops for the next few months, is sure
 to be viewed by them with the utmost dread. The worst
 of the rebellion being now seemingly over, they will construe
 it into a direct threat against themselves, and the most
 faithful of them may be driven by sheer terror into open
 revolt. I believe indeed, strange as it may seem to many,
 that panic lay at the bottom of half the actual mutinies
 which have taken place, after the first.

through which we have passed, through which we are passing, must have tried as with fire the faithfulness of our native officers and *employés*. Surely no reward should be too great for those who have most signalized their loyalty. It is several years since Sir Charles Napier advocated the giving of regular commissions to native officers. Of course it would be imprudent to venture upon that experiment on a large scale. But to confer that honour in a few signal instances would be devoid of danger, and would mark English gratitude for perilous faithfulness in a becoming way. So in civil employments; though it may be expedient to dismiss hosts of native hirelings, it will also be most fitting to give marked advancement to the really faithful. By so doing, we shall indeed improve the whole tone of native officialism; for, as Mr. Raikes strikingly remarks, "it is remarkable that a native judge, who has any prospect of promotion, hardly ever is known to be corrupt."¹

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What we have to aim at, indeed, is, not only to raise the natives to an equality with ourselves, but to assimilate them to ourselves, so as to deprive that equality of its perils. One great

¹ "Notes on the North-Western Provinces," p. 236. Even in the face of the present mutiny, we cannot overlook the necessity, because the justice, of opening employments to the natives. In a pamphlet published at Calcutta in 1844, by the Bengal British India Society, entitled, "Evidences relative to the Efficiency of Native Agency in the Administration of the Affairs of the Country," will be found a striking collection of testimonies on this subject, and comprising every noblest name in Indian history,—from able administrators like Mr. Holt Mackenzie, to gallant old soldiers like Sir Lionel Smith.

PART III. means of doing so, I believe, would be to extend
The Present. the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, the sphere
 LECT. of English law. All native jealousies against
 XVII. the former tribunal have long since passed away.
 The Madras native petition of 1852 is strong in
 favour of it. Jotee Persâd's flight to Calcutta
 (see p. 183), shows *his* feeling on the subject.
 If the "Regulation" system is still to prevail
 generally, it seems to me, that not only English-
 men in the provinces should be restored to the
 enjoyment of English law, their birthright, but
 that the natives should be entitled to claim its
 privileges by registering themselves as English-
 men; it being clearly understood that, by such
 means, in exchange for the Englishman's rights,
 they forfeited all claim to be judged by native
 law or usage. We might, possibly, thus healthily
 restore the grand old Roman principle of im-
 parting the rights of Roman citizenship to con-
 quered nations, as a privilege, as a blessing;¹
 and, notwithstanding all I have heard to the
 contrary, I doubt much whether our Indian fel-
 low-subjects would be slow to avail themselves
 of such an opening. Enactments enabling all
 disputes between natives to be adjudicated upon,
 by consent, by the Supreme Courts, and for ena-
 bling the judges of the latter to go on circuit in
 the country, would also be most beneficial to-
 wards Anglicising the country.

The restricting—as I fear may be deemed
 necessary permanently—of the freedom of the

¹ Whilst sending this page to the press I observe a simi-
 lar suggestion in a letter by Professor Newman to the
Times.

native press, if coupled with a complete enfranchisement of the English, may tend to the same end. The English language would thus grow to be looked upon by the native as the language of freedom, as well as the path to office, which it is now, and it would become dear to him accordingly.

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THE GOVERNMENT QUESTION.

PART I.—THE SYSTEM AND ITS DEFENDERS.

Prevalent Feeling for the Abolition of the Company's Rule—
 Examination of the Indian Government—General Administration—Vicious Constitution of the Court of Directors—
 Mischiefs of their Patronage—The Board of Control—
 Thimble-rig on a large Scale—Enormous Cost of the Double Government—Real Influence of the Directors—
 The Company's Government most unfit to secure Oriental Loyalty—Its Want of Success—The Argument of Beneficence—Mode in which it is urged: Pharisaic Abuse of our Predecessors; Attribution of Individual Merits to the Government—Individual Energy the Source of almost all Anglo-Indian good Deeds—The Greatest do but touch extraordinary Evils.

PART III. WE come now to the specially political lessons
The Present. of the mutiny. I say lessons; I should use the
 LECT. singular. I do not know any which has im-
 XVIII. pressed itself more deeply on the minds of
 Englishmen of all classes, not directly connected
 with the East India Company, than this: The
 present mutiny is the final condemnation of the
 Company; that body, as an engine of govern-
 ment at least, must be abolished.

I do not gainsay that lesson. It may not, indeed, realize itself as soon as many hope. The

¹ The following pages were written before the announcement in the *Times*, November 27th, 1857, that the "double Government" was to be suppressed. I have allowed them to subsist, as they may serve to justify to some minds, by independent testimony, the wisdom of the step.

East India Company has generally been most able and adroit in prolonging its term of existence, even when the attempt seemed most desperate. It will be worth while, therefore, even at the present time, to examine into the arguments by which the maintenance of the Company's rule may be sought to be justified.

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I. Let me first observe, that there is one line of argument which is *not* usually followed. Very rarely do we find men attempt to justify our system of administration towards India in itself,—as one so devised, that it is really adapted to bring forth the fruits of good government. In another century, men will find it difficult to believe, that till within the last year or two the patronage of the whole government of nearly two hundred millions of people, and its whole nominal administration, should have been confided to a body so elected as the Court of Directors was once in its entirety—is still, in great degree ; and yet that that body itself should have been in great measure a sham—a mere blind to conceal the working of a ministerial board. Let us mark down the leading features of this extraordinary system, whilst it is yet before our eyes.

Nominally, then, the vastest and most populous dependency of the British Crown is governed, in trust for it, by a body once purely commercial, and which, although stripped by degrees of all its trading privileges, retains yet, in great degree, its commercial organization ; in which the elective franchise rests simply (except as after-mentioned) with persons—men or women—who have bought or otherwise acquired possession of a certain amount of stock—who require no other

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qualification to appoint the governors of a mighty empire ; of which the executive consists yet mainly of the nominees of that constituency, qualified only by the possession of a large amount of stock, elected by ballot, subject nominally to periodical re-election, but in reality never displaced after their first appointment. In other words, any one, who is rich enough, may have a share in appointing the Governors of India ; any one, who is rich enough, may be one of those Governors. Practically, it is well known that the constituent body is influenced by no principle whatsoever in the choice of Directors ; that India stock is bought as a mere investment by some,—as a means of obtaining patronage from Directors by those who look to India as a field of employment for their relatives—as a means of obtaining India House contracts by city tradesmen ; that patience and a purse have been the only requisites for a seat in the Direction ; that eight years' canvass and 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.* will carry any man into one, Tory or Radical, wise or foolish. For the sake of patronage and influence, therefore, men who have no connexion whatever with India—London bankers, merchants, retired sea-captains—have made and do make their way into the Direction. It is true that, practically, the bulk of the East India Directors have always been men who have known somewhat of India. But more than once, I believe, where there has been the strongest feeling as to a particular course of policy on the part of an enlightened few, the dead weight of city ignorance, combined with evil influences elsewhere, has made the Company take the worse course.

The selection of the East Indian Directors, considered as the nominal governors of India, so far as it has proceeded from the proprietors, has been thus about as likely to produce good governors as if any given number of English names of persons having a certain amount of wealth, were shaken in a hat, and the first few selected out of them.

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Now, to these men thus selected, no incentive whatsoever is offered for governing well ; every incentive for governing badly. As men are constituted, it is generally considered a means of promoting good government, that officials should derive some advantage by doing their duty, bear some disadvantage by not doing it. Not so with an East Indian Director. Once elected, as I have said, he is never displaced by the proprietary, let him be as inefficient, as mischievous as he may ; he is never displaced by his brother Directors, except for some clumsy palpable breach of law, as by receiving consideration in hard cash for appointments. And whilst he is thus subject to no penalty—speaking broadly—for misconduct, to no loss of power through incapacity, he has nothing to look for through a zealous performance of his duty. The only advancement open to him, is to “the chairs,” which it is understood that all Directors have a right to fill, sooner or later, which are sometimes occupied a little more frequently by the man of the glibest tongue, of the most brazen face. If now and then a baronetcy falls in as a perquisite to these, it will be on the occasion of some “glorious victory,” won, perhaps, in a war which the Court have vainly opposed. The almost mechanic rotation of office, persevered in though

PART III. not compulsory, is such, that the most admirable statesman, if placed in the Direction, has
The Present. no real chance of influence until he reaches
 LECT. the so-called "Secret Committee;" is sure to be
 XVIII. deprived of that influence as soon as he begins
 to consolidate it; has every chance of seeing his
 whole work undone in a year or two at the utmost, by the next man who fills the chair.

But again: it has always been held to be one means of securing the efficiency of public officers that they should be well paid, but that their sphere of patronage should be limited. Exactly the reverse principle has been proceeded on with reference to the government of India. A paltry pittance of 300*l.* a year, with some coarse perquisites of breakfasts and banquets, has been, till lately, the Director's nominal pay. His real pay has been patronage. Until the last charter, the whole patronage of appointing to the government service of India has been his. What has been the consequence? He has had a direct temptation to create new offices; to increase salaries; to seek new fields of patronage. This temptation must have acted, without their perceiving it, on the most scrupulously honest among them; those who would have most scorned to receive any valuable consideration for an appointment. To give away places to young relatives and friends,—aye, to the deserving and friendless stranger,—is a pleasure to which none need be ashamed of feeling alive. Insensibly, the absorption of a new native province is realized as affording an opening to so many writers; the war which requires the raising of new regiments, comes to be reckoned as a windfall of so many

cadetships. Thus the best and the worst feelings of human nature conspire to make the Court of Directors govern India with reference not to its own wants, but to their own individual interests and wishes ; or, in other words, to misgovern it.

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By the last charter, indeed, (16 and 17 Vict. c. 35,) this system is somewhat modified. The whole number of Directors is reduced, their term of office extended to six years ; the Crown is enabled to appoint a certain number of them, and both the Crown Directors and a certain number of Proprietary Directors (as we may call them) are required to be persons who have been ten years in India. The salary of the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman is raised to 1,000*l.* a year, of the other Directors to 500*l.* Finally, the patronage of the civil and medical services is taken away—these being thrown open to public competition.

It is obvious, however, that all these changes, although for the better invariably, only mitigate without removing the mischiefs arising from the constitution of the body. Still subsists that strange Proprietary,—old maids of Bath and London coach-makers,—still it appoints Governors for India ; still, among this portion of the Directors at least, incapacity will retain its permanent tenant right,—still will wisdom be powerless against the mechanic influence of rotation,—still will the fields of patronage yet left open (those of the army and the church, besides many others which are opening unperceived—the telegraphs, for instance), afford their due temptation to misgovernment.¹

¹ See further as to the anomalies and mischiefs of the

PART III. But now let us look at the question from
The Present. another point of view. We have treated hitherto
 LECT. the East India Company as a reality. Is it not
 XVIII. so? The whole government of India is carried
 on in its name. The whole native army of India
 is the "Company's army;" a part of the Euro-
 peans also. The navy of India is the "Company's
 navy." The coinage of India is the "Company's
 coinage." The despatches by which the govern-
 ment of India is carried on are signed by the
 Directors of the Company.

Well, all this, we are now told, is a sham. Sir John Hobhouse, when President of the Board of Control, declared that he was "Governor of India in the last resort in all matters connected with the political department." The letters from the Secret Committee were written by himself: its members were obliged to sign those letters. He could draft a despatch to the Governor-General, without consulting any Director, and the Select Committee were bound to send it to India under their own signatures, whether they agreed with it or not. Lord Ellenborough has made a similar statement.¹ And this is the state of things to this day. It must be admitted that a machinery more immoral or more absurd could not well be devised. It is a sort of chronic moral forgery. Or again, it has been compared to a gigantic game of thimble-rig, in which the main object is, that responsibility should be no-

"Double Government system," Mr. Sullivan's "Remarks on the Affairs of India," and the Indian Reform Tracts, Nos. V. and VI.; the former by Mr. Sullivan, the latter by Mr. John Dickinson, jun.

¹ The Court is said to have known nothing *officially* of the Afghan war, until about three years after it commenced!

where,—that between the Governor-General, the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, the pea should be always under the other thimble. Nothing,—to use Mr. Sullivan's bitter words,—

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“Can be more convenient for ministers, than that the government of India should be really in their hands, while it appears to be in the hands of the Company,—that they should be able to pull the wires of the puppet from behind a curtain,—that the President of the Board of Control, when questioned in Parliament upon any matter connected with India, should pretend to refer to the Court of Directors, who are called into existence to do his bidding,—no system more convenient than one which makes business for the greatest number of officials. Under it we have there a duplicate of every department,—a President, a Board, Secretaries, and heads of the Political, Military, Financial, Revenue, and Judicial departments; with a large number of clerks at the west end of the town, whose sole business it is to revise despatches, which are prepared by a corresponding machinery at the east end.”¹

“When we consider that the Government of India is emphatically declared to be a Government of record,—that every, the most minute, transaction is not unfrequently recorded two or three times in India,—that copies of these voluminous records are made in duplicate for the use of the two departments in England,—that copies of all despatches received from India must be sent to the Board of Control,—that these despatches are accompanied by such a mass of documents as . . . amount to 2000, 3000, 4000, 5000, and occasionally to 20,000 pages,—that the disputes which arise between the two departments are carried on in writing,—that from the first establishment of the Board of Control, in 1784, down to the year 1830, no less than 20,000 communications passed between these two bodies, some of which were of vast length,—that no less than 21,508 folio volumes of records were sent from India to England between the years 1793 and 1829,—that there has been a vast increase in this number since that time;—when we consider that at least one-half of this mountain of record is owing to the system of double agency which exists, we shall see at what an enormous cost of money and waste of time the system is worked.”²

¹ Remarks on the Affairs of India, pp. 24, 25.

² Ibid. pp. 23, 29.

PART III. Indeed, it is but too obvious, that if English
The Present. tax-payers bore the cost of a system so monstrous,
 LECT. it must have been swept to the winds long since ;
 XVIII. that it has only subsisted because it has been a
 means of maintaining English officials out of
 moneys levied upon the voiceless millions of
 India, curbed by English bayonets.

But we must not be led away by either Sir John Hobhouse or Mr. Sullivan himself, into supposing that the Board of Control really governs India. It is, indeed, absolute whenever it chooses ; it can interfere to any extent it pleases with the Government. But the every-day working still lies with the Company ; and so far as they have the patronage, theirs is the spirit by which it is ruled. Lord William Bentinck truly observed, in 1837, that "from their permanency and the knowledge which they" (the Court of Directors) "derive from their numerous clients, they possess a power and influence over all affairs which a temporary President of the Board of Control, unaided by any Board possessing local information, cannot possibly control." A great deal less depends upon measures, than upon the men who carry them out ; and for many a long year to come, the officials of India will be Company's men. Nor can one sufficiently admire the adroitness with which, on the passing of the last charter, they succeeded in limiting to officials the choice of Directors by the Crown, which officials must in the main be their own servants. Every Crown Director must have been "for ten years at the least in the service of the Crown in India, or in the service of the said Company there." Now the Queen's troops and the Supreme

Courts form, if I mistake not, the whole of the Crown servants in India. Officers of the former seldom remain long enough in India to be eligible; seldom take sufficient interest in the country to care for the appointment. The experience of Supreme Court judges, being confined to the Presidencies, tends in some measure to disqualify them. Hence it happens that the choice of the Crown must, in the bulk of cases, fall upon the Company's officials: whilst an amusing contrast to this limitation of the powers of the Crown is afforded by the largeness with which the proprietary directors are allowed to select, as their special Indian Directors, any persons who have "resided" for ten years in India.¹ Of course they are not likely to abuse the privilege by appointing very independent English settlers.

It is thus clear, I think, that whatever arguments may be adduced for the maintenance of the Company's rule, cannot be derived from the intrinsic excellence of its administrative system.

II. But, before proceeding to consider the actual results of such a government in India, it is well to note one thing,—that it would seem impossible to invent one less adapted to the oriental mind; less likely to call out in it any feelings of attachment and loyalty. The Oriental is above all things personal in his attachments. Of all the races of India, the Sikhs are the only one amongst whom a distinct feeling of nationality seems to have grown up. Caste may hold the Hindoos together; the cry of the holy war may rouse the Moslem; but devotion to an in-

¹ See sections 3 and 9 of the 16th and 17th Vict. c. 95.

PART III. individual is strong enough to overcome either
The Present. feeling. The Hindoo sepoy will brave pollution
 LECT. in carrying the body of some beloved English
 XVIII. officer to the grave ; the Mussulman trooper has
 many a time charged his brother Mussulman at
 the bidding of such a leader. Now the system
 of the Indian government is not very easy to
 comprehend, even for a European,—how much
 less so for a native ! Hence the puzzles of
 these men as to the nature of the master
 whom they were serving. Was it a man ? they
 asked. They were told it was not. And, as pro-
 bably we all know, the conclusion many of them
 came to was, that the “Koompanee Bahadoor”
 must be some very, very old woman, who reigned
 long before the days of their grandfathers. We
 laugh at the notion, which was, perhaps, not of
 itself likely to inspire any very enthusiastic devo-
 tion. But let us be assured that the better, if
 possible, they understand the real state of things,
 the less will be their incentive to loyalty,—the
 more they will feel themselves the merest of
 mercenaries. Loyalty to a very old woman is
 yet conceivable ; loyalty to four-and-twenty or
 eighteen men sitting at the India House, and
 changing places with others from time to time, is
 absolutely impossible. I say loyalty to men
 sitting at the India House,—for it is plain that
 even the most intelligent natives have not yet in
 the slightest degree mastered the true position of
 the Board of Control. Of this Lutfullah’s auto-
 biography gives us the most evident proofs.
 He speaks of the India House as “the place where
 the destiny of my sweet native land lies in the
 hands of twenty-four men, called the Honourable

Directors of the Honourable East India Company, *who are the principal movers of the string of the machine of government in India.*" He calls the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman again "*the fountain-head of all the affairs of India.*" He calls upon the Secretary, upon the President of the Board of Control, evidently without the slightest conception that in Lord Ripon he beholds "the Governor of India in the last resort."¹

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III. If, therefore, the Company's government have a claim to be maintained, it can be neither because it is constituted in accordance with English common sense, nor yet because it is adapted to Oriental character. Its claim must rest strictly upon what it may have achieved, in spite of all inherent defects. Either it must be shown to have been so successful, or so beneficent, as to deserve preservation.

The first argument can scarcely be urged at the present time. The chronic deficit in the Indian revenues,—the many loans contracted of late years, including the last Punjab one at six per cent., the assistance which the East India Company has been compelled to ask from London bankers,—the heavy discounts at which its securities are held—all show a state of things the very reverse of economic success. And when it is added, that, after nearly a century of possession in the North, the East India Company has only been able to maintain its rulers by the aid of the Queen's troops,—by denuding our every colony in the Eastern hemisphere of its soldiers,—I think we shall easily understand why the prosperity argument should be reserved

¹ See pp. 406, 410, 411, 420, 421.

PART III. by the advocates of the Company's government
The Present. for "a more convenient season."

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Therefore it is that the argument from beneficence is the more insisted on at present. The Company's government has been "mild"—"paternal,"—only too much so, seeing the ingratitude with which it has been met on the part of its most favoured native servants. If this be indeed the case, history affords no other instance in which a really "mild" and "paternal" government has seen 80,000 of its most favoured servants rise against it, and murder every man, woman, and child in anywise connected with it that came in their way. The anomaly is startling, and deserves peculiar investigation.

If we analyse the apologies for the good government of the East India Company, I think we shall find them all turn upon two processes of reasoning—First, a comparison of the Company's rule with that of the native Governments which have preceded it, representing the latter in the most frightful colours; secondly, a careful collection of all the good deeds of all the Company's servants that ever lived, and an attribution of their merits to the Government which employed them. Both these processes are employed with excellent artistic effect, but more especially the latter, by Mr. Kaye, in his "Administration of the East India Company."

So at the present day a portion of the press is holding up the gallant deeds of our Indian officers during the present rebellion, as an argument for the Company. Nothing can be more fallacious. The Company's military *system*,—that of seniority, as mischievous as purchase

itself,—gave command to the Lloyds and the Hewetts. It is sheer necessity breaking down that system which has brought forward their glorious subordinates.

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Now, in the first place, I cannot conceive anything so unworthy at bottom of English justice and honesty as to rake together all possible vices and crimes of heathens and Mussulmen whom we despise, in order to show that the East India Company's government has been better than theirs. "God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican." Such is really the spirit,—such the appeal to the hidden Pharisee in every one of us,—with which men, even like Mr. Wylie, in his "*Bengal as a Field of Missions*," think it necessary to commence an appeal to the piety of our countrymen. They must catalogue the tortures practised by Mysorean, Mahratta, or Mogul, by Burmese or Sikh, before they dare enter upon a plain statement of existing facts. I think it is time that, for very shame's sake, we should give up this kind of reasoning. There is a noble pride which is only another aspect of Christian humility. The man and the nation who disdain to compare themselves with those who are deemed the worst and most abject of their race, in order to gloat over the greater wickedness of others, are the most likely to look steadfastly up to God's law of truth, and justice, and love, in order to measure their shortcomings from it, and strive to fulfil it more, in His strength and not in their own.¹

¹ But words like the following ones, from the lips of the best Governor-General that India ever had,—the man who,

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The other line of argument is much more subtle and taking. God forbid that I should deny the many good deeds that have been done, and are doing by Englishmen in the Company's service! But how could it have been otherwise? A number of Englishmen of the middle classes, most of them after receiving an excellent education, are sent forth into a country where their income is from the first always sufficient to meet their wants, and rapidly outstrips them, whilst they are relieved from all anxiety for the future by the certainty of handsome retiring allowances. They are there, from their limited number, placed necessarily at a very early period in situations of vast influence, where their character, if they have any, has full play for growth and development. Now, under whatever rule such a state of things may occur, it is morally impossible that it should not bring out amongst our countrymen individual examples of surpassing excellence. The question really is, At what cost are these developed?—what fruit do they bear? I believe that if this question be dispassionately inquired into, it will be found that there never was a system of government in which, on the one hand, all the good done has

considering his opportunities, did, probably, more for her than all other Governors-General put together, Lord William Bentinck,—may well make us pause before condemning our predecessors so complacently:

"In many respects the Mahomedans surpassed our rule: they settled in the countries which they conquered; they intermixed and intermarried with the natives; they admitted them to all privileges; the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and conquered became identified. Our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this—cold, selfish, and unfeeling: the iron hand of power on the one side, monopoly and exclusion on the other."

been more exclusively the result of individual effort, and in which, on the other, that good has been so neutralized by the general system,—in which, in short, so many good men have achieved so little permanent good.

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I do not wish this assertion to rest on generalities. If we reckon up what are the good deeds which form the stock grounds of eulogy upon the Indian Government, we shall find them, I believe, to be chiefly these:—Abolition of suttee,—of self-immolation,—of female infanticide,—of Thuggee,—encouragement of education. A year ago, to this list was commonly added, freedom of the press. But, under a gagging act, that matter is best passed under silence.

Now every one of these measures can distinctly be traced to individual agency,—sometimes of persons out of the service. Most of them have been thwarted by Government at their inception,—were only patronised when successful.

As respects the three first of these, I believe the Bengal missionaries say less than the truth when they allege that they must, “in a large measure, be ascribed to the growing influence of Christian missions.” The evils they deal with were rife, every one of them, when, in spite of the Company’s Government, the Baptist missionaries landed in Bengal. Suttee is acknowledged to have increased under British rule, whilst attempted to be regulated. The credit of having seen that it might be abolished by law in the British territories, is due to Lord William Bentinck,—encouraged, I gladly admit, by the Directors. The far higher credit of having, in spite of the warnings of his own superiors, per-

PART III. *The Present.* suaded the most influential native princes to
 LECT. suppress it, is due to General Ludlow, since
 XVIII. whose departure little or nothing has been done
 in the matter. Nothing but the prolonged outcry of the ridiculed "saints" in India and at home, compelled the Indian Government to give up that productive "pilgrim-tax" by which it directly sanctioned the self-immolation of the worshippers of Juggernât, and made money by their sufferings. Of the suppression of infanticide, the credit is shared by many; but nothing is more apparent than the way in which it is due, from district to district, to individual discovery, individual effort. So little of general Government action has there been in the matter, that, as an instructive note in Mr. Kaye's "Administration of the East India Company" informs us, magistrates have found the records of their magistracy absolutely silent upon it, and have derived all their information respecting it from the accidental perusal of some article in a review.¹

In like manner, it is evident that the suppression of Thuggee is mainly due to the individual energy and ability of Colonel Sleeman, before the date of whose efforts the Government were entirely powerless to cope with the evil. For the first act of encouragement to education to India, Lord Wellesley incurred the severe displeasure of his Government. Sir Charles Metcalfe did the like by granting the liberty of the press.²

¹ Administration of the East India Company, p. 578, note †.

² The following extract, from a work by a Calcutta magistrate, surely bears out the above remarks, though it applies specially to Bengal:—

"The Court of Directors opposed the introduction of

But we must go deeper still. Impute the merits of all these individual efforts, like those of so many Romish saints, to the Government of India. See, then, whether what it has done be not the mere tithing of mint, and anise, and cummin, beside the weightier matters which it has left undone.

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For it is evident that all the evils which have been suppressed,—make them as monstrous as you please,—are only extraordinary ones, and strike the imagination, as the religious practices of the Pharisee, precisely because they are such. Wise men judge of a fellow-man's goodness, not by some one noble saying, or act of showy virtue, but by the tenor of his every-day life, by his habitual conduct towards his family, his dependents, those who are most in contact with him;

Christian missions, and the opening of the trade with India, in 1813; and the opening of the China trade, and the free settlement of Europeans in 1833. They censured the Indian Government for giving freedom to the press, for establishing a uniform currency, for abolishing the inland transit duties; and censured Lord William Bentinck when he first used their steamers in the service of carrying letters and despatches by Suez, instead of allowing them, as before, to be carried in a four months' voyage round the Cape. Very lately, when Lord Dalhousie urged them to extend the proposed one-anna postage to newspapers, they refused to consent; and now the Act has passed, with an insidious blow at the Indian press. When he urged them to allow him to select the fittest men he could find, for such offices as Postmaster-General and Chief Magistrate (as offices which required a special training, altogether dissimilar to that of their servants) . . . they refused to allow any but 'civilians' to fill those posts. Then as to the police of Bengal. It was known for years that . . . the native superintendents could not live on their salary of twenty-five rupees a month; and the consequences of the spirit of extortion which this pittance of pay excited in this powerful class, were indescribably shameful. But the Court of Directors would permit no increase."—*Bengal as a Field of Missions*, p. 298.

PART III. by their feelings towards him in turn. And as
The Present. with a man, so with a Government. A good
LECT. Government is not necessarily that which strikes
XVIII. with the greatest display of energy at some signal
wrong; but that which most efficiently keeps
down all every-day wrong, promotes all every-day
right. This must be ultimately the test of the
Company's rule.

And I believe, indeed, that that test can never
be satisfactorily applied but by a commission
appointed from this country, entirely unbiassed
by self-interest in favour of the Company; such
a commission as has been vainly solicited by
natives of the Presidencies; vainly solicited by
the Bengal missionaries; vainly urged for years
by individuals. In the absence of such an
inquiry, a few hints here and there are all that
can be gathered together, at this distance, as to
the facts.

LECTURE XIX.

THE GOVERNMENT QUESTION.

PART II.—THE POLICE, JUSTICE, AND TAXATION OF INDIA.

Application to the Company's Rule of the ordinary Tests of good Government—Protection of Person and Property: both insecure—Gang Robberies—Police Rascality—The Judicial System: cumbrous, inefficient, a Source of Perjury—The Revenue System: Expense of Collection—The Land Revenue: Evils of both the Zemindaree and Ryot-war Systems—The Opium Monopoly: oppressive and demoralizing—The Spirit Duties: promote Drunkenness—The Salt Monopoly and its Hardships—Small Farms and Licences—Moturpha—The Revenue System generally: wasteful, vexatious, and demoralizing—Its Evils mostly of our own Introduction.

I TAKE it that the most ordinary outward marks of a good government—I do not even say a Christian government—are: 1st. Protection of person and property; 2nd. Honest and efficient justice; 3rd. An inoppressive fiscal system; 4th. Encouragement to agriculture, industry, and trade; 5th. Finally, as a necessary consequence from these, a thriving and contented people. Let us see how far these marks apply to the Indian Government.¹

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¹ I have not included among the above marks, "a good system of legislation," as the subject might be one of too technical a character. The character of Indian law-making has indeed, I believe, been improving of late years; and room there was, certainly, for improvement; for, bad as

PART III. 1st. Protection of person and property.—I am
The Present. aware that some people, who have not read this
LECT. XIX. book, will lift up their hands in astonishment,
 at any question on this head being asked. What,
 they say, is not the establishment of law and
 order, the very characteristic of British rule in
 India? Have we not put down the Pindarree
 bands? checked or civilised many a robber tribe?
 Has not Sir Thomas Munro, though so declared
 an opponent of annexation, stated that “the
 natives of the British provinces may, without
 fear, pursue their different occupations, as traders
 . . . or husbandmen, and enjoy the fruits of
 their labour in tranquillity?” I believe that
 much of this is perfectly true. I believe, that
 to this day, the substitution of British rule,
 especially in its less complex, non-regulation
 form, for mere savagery—as, for instance, in the
 wild districts of the North-East—does invariably
 bring with it at the first, an order and security
 such as have not been known before. But I
 believe also that the gradual effect of that rule
 is, to produce in the long run a result far worse
 than mere savagery, in which both person and
 property number among their worst enemies
 those whose office it is to protect them.

As respects Madras, the petition of the native
 inhabitants in 1852 declares, that “the police
 being all under the collector, and always more
 attentive to the exaction of revenue than to the

English statutes are, as models in law-making, certainly the
 older Indian “Regulations” beat them hollow for badness.
 The waste of money on Indian law commissions and Indian
 codes is, however, something frightful.

preservation of the lives and property of the people . . . burglaries, highway and gang robberies are more or less prevalent, in every district." They declare that the collectors' native deputies are able "to trump up false accusations, and to involve any number of persons in their charges;" that they imprison all cultivators who resist their demands, and carry them with them in custody from place to place, until they can coerce them into obedience; that petitions complaining of such grievances are referred from office to office, without ever being done justice to. Since that period, the Torture Report in Madras proves conclusively the existence of practices amongst the native officials, before which neither life nor property can be safe.¹ The inefficiency of the civil police is more than once referred to by Captain Hervey. I know that a paper privately printed by a civilian, within the last two years, entirely bears out his statements. So much for Madras.

In the year 1849, an Indian civilian of twenty-one years' standing, published, under an assumed name, a work called "The Revelations of an

¹ The amount of *legalised* torture, quite apart from illegal malpractices, which subsisted in India within the present quarter-century, may be judged of by the following two facts:—"Twenty years ago," says Mr. Raikes, "a circular letter was sent to the magistrates of the Bengal Presidency, requesting them *not to hamstring* convicts before execution." (Notes, p. 173.) This was one of Lord William Bentinck's good deeds. In 1847, under Lord Hardinge, the Adawlut Court of Bengal forbade "the probing, by the police, of wounds to learn their depth, length," &c. (Taylor and Mackenna, p. 568.) Let any one conceive the fruitful source of exactions which the latter practice must have afforded to the police!

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Orderly; being an Attempt to expose the Abuses of Administration, by the relation of every-day (Occurrences in the Mofussil;" i. e. provincial "courts." Benares is the centre of his observations, but his field appears to comprise Gangetic India generally. It is full of details how the police are in the habit of accusing the innocent, when they cannot find the guilty, or are fee'd to overlook them,—how they extort confession from the former, *e. g.* by keeping them "immersed in ordure all night, under a burning sun all day."

I come now to Bengal,—the province containing the seat of government, the most populous of Anglo-Indian cities,—the one which lies the most open to European inspection, which has been longest under the Company's rule; the population of which is notoriously timid and submissive. In 1852, the Missionaries of Bengal petitioned both Houses of Parliament. They greatly feared, they said, "that it will be found on inquiry, that in many districts of Bengal, *neither life nor property is secure; that gang-robberies of the most daring character are perpetrated annually in great numbers with impunity;*" and that there are "constant scenes of violence, in contentions respecting disputed boundaries, between the owners of landed estates." The village policemen, they say, "are, in fact, the ministers of the most powerful of their neighbours, rather than the protectors of the people. The records of the criminal courts, and the experience of every resident in Bengal, will bear testimony to the facts, that no confidence can

be placed in the police force . . . that it is their practice to extort confessions by torture; and that, while they are powerless to resist the gangs of organised burglars or dekoits, they are corrupt enough to connive at their atrocities." They declare that capitalists generally dread to purchase landed property; "and those who do, too frequently keep bodies of club-men, to take and keep by force the extent of land to which they deem themselves entitled." A separate petition, signed by 1,800 Christian inhabitants of Bengal, and presented to Parliament in 1853, states that "the police of the Lower Provinces not only fails as respects the prevention of crimes, apprehension of offenders, and protection of life and property, but it is become a great engine of oppression, and a great cause of the corruption of the people;" "that torture is believed to be extensively practised on persons under accusation." In a minute by Lieut.-Governor Halliday, on the police and criminal justice in Bengal, it is stated that "throughout the length and breadth of the country, the strong prey almost universally upon the weak, and power is but too commonly valued only as it can be turned into money;" that "it is a lamentable but unquestionable fact, that the rural police, its position, character, and stability as a public institution, have, in the Lower Provinces, deteriorated during the last twenty years." In June, 1854, we find the Indigo planters complaining of "the general insecurity of the country," of the "necessity of having force always ready for defence of property and person." Mr. Wylie, First Judge of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes, in his work entitled "Bengal as a

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PART III. Field of Missions," published in the same year, *The Present*. says that—

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"As to the police, no language that has been used respecting it has ever exaggerated its evils. . . . The police can oppress with impunity. The visit of a police darogah (officer) to a native villager is a calamity. If a robbery is committed, the poor are afraid to complain; if any one is wanted as a witness, he is taken for several days from his labour, and treated as a prisoner; if a criminal, or suspected criminal, is arrested, he is at once presumed to be guilty, and is very probably tortured to confess. . . . The insecurity of property induces all who can afford it, to hire watchmen,—in fact, bludgeon-men,—of their own; and these, whenever occasion requires, are of course used as agents of any amount of violence and oppression. . . . The people sink under the weight of fear, and their natural cowardice is increased by a sense of the hopelessness of resistance. Justice is, to a large extent, practically denied them: the land-holders and the police are the chief powers they know; and they are hunted by both, till they surrender themselves to servility, to despair."¹

The same facts are to be found in the Report of the Calcutta Mission Conference in 1855; in the Missionaries' memorial to Mr. Halliday, presented since Lord Dalhousie's departure. I see by the latest newspapers, that a new police-law has this year been passed. But no mere law can remove such deep-rooted evils.

I conclude, therefore, that, as respects at least large portions of the Company's territories, and those the most open to inspection, it is proved that neither life nor property are secure; and that, in great measure, through the misconduct of the native officials of the Company's Govern-

¹ "Bengal as a Field of Missions," p. 286. The low pay of the police lies at the bottom of much of the mischief. Mr. Wylie says of one district, that "the village policemen" receive no more than one rupee (2s.), or even less than that, a month; and venality is, therefore, well-nigh universal" (p. 255).

ment. I say, as respects "large portions of the Company's territories," simply because I have no decisive evidence at hand as to the Bombay Presidency for instance, and do not wish to make assertions without evidence. But an experienced Indian officer, like the late Major Cunningham, did not deem it necessary to make any reserves, when he wrote, six years back, of the Indian Government, that it was "comparatively valueless as the guardian of the private property of its citizens."¹

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II. The second mark of good government,—honest and efficient justice,—is well-nigh disposed of with the first, seeing to what extent the insecurity of life and property in India are the consequence of a corrupt and ruffianly police. The "Revelations of an Orderly" afford a complete picture of the rascalities of inferior native officers of justice; of how the orderly gets fat by refusing admission to the presence of the English official without a fee; by extracting fees from every winner of a suit, for the serving of every process. The time would fail me for detailing all the doublings of villany which are here invented. And what wonder? The pay of such men is not enough to maintain them. The orderly receives four rupees—*eight shillings*—a month, out of which he is expected to feed and clothe himself, and his family, if he has any; to be well dressed, and in constant attendance. Can honesty be secured on such terms?

The consequence of the corrupt character of the native officials is, that the most salutary measures become in their hands frightful engines

¹ History of the Sikhs, p. 329, n.

PART III. of oppression. I have followed the authorities
The Present. which I had before me in speaking with praise
 LECT. XIX. of the stringent acts passed for the suppression
 of Thuggee and Dekoitee. But certain it is that,
 except under the most able and vigilant super-
 intendence, those acts lead to the punishment
 of the innocent. "The police of India," says
 Major Cunningham, "is notoriously corrupt
 and oppressive; and even the useful establish-
 ments for tracing Thugs and Dekoits . . . may,
 before long, become as great an evil in one way
 as the gangs of criminals that are breaking up
 in another. The British rule is most defective
 in the prevention and detection of crime.¹ So
 Mr. Wylie: "One of the worst attendant cir-
 cumstances, or rather consequences, of the
 offences, unhappily, has been the great doubt of
 the guilt of some of those who have been
 actually convicted. Whenever a dekoity at-
 tracts special attention, the police are stirred
 up to discover the offenders, and there is too
 much reason to fear that, when they cannot find
 the actual criminals, they extort confessions,
 or manufacture evidence, to convict others."
 And he quotes a case,—very similar to one
 mentioned in the "Revelations of an Orderly,"
 —in which an innocent man was convicted and
 sent to jail for life; and only, on his liberation,
 through the confessions of the actual robbers,
 was "sufficient attention drawn to the fact,"
 that at the time of his trial he had been cruelly
 tortured to extract confession.²

¹ History of the Sikhs, p. 329, note *.

² "Bengal as a Field of Missions," p. 266. What I say
 here or elsewhere, as to the corruption of native officials,

Of the judicial system itself, the Madras petition complains that, "besides involving large unnecessary expense," its processes are "slow, complicated, and imperfect." It shows that periods of six, eight, nine, and even fifteen years elapse before suits are finally decided in the Company's highest Court, the Sudder Adawlut; it alleges that there is an absence of sound judicial capacity in the presiding officers, especially those in the lower tribunals; scarcely one of whom has even a moderate acquaintance with the vernacular language of the district in which he exercises his functions—has previously devoted any portion of his time to the study of jurisprudence—or experienced even a limited training in a judicial Court. The petitioners prove these positions by actual instances. They conclude the character of the judicial service thus given by referring to its common designation as a "refuge for the destitute,"—"all those persons who are too incompetent for the revenue department, being transformed into judges and dispensers of the criminal and civil law" in the provinces. (This is notoriously the fact.) They allege that the criminal courts "are on a par with the civil courts; the judges being without any distinct legal training, except what is to be obtained in the revenue department;" that the European magistrates give "their principal attention to their revenue does not in the least clash with the opinion I have expressed as to the expediency of admitting natives to public offices. The wretched system of under-payment of native officials, and the contumelies to which they are subject, appear to be the main sources of their corruption. It is "notorious," as Mr. Frederick Shore said, that "*as long as the European servants were treated in the same manner, they were as corrupt as any natives could possibly be.*"

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duties, leaving those of the magistracy to be performed by their subordinates." They quote instances of palpable incompetency in cases involving the highest penalties of the law.¹

In Bengal we find the missionaries complaining of the inefficiency of the judicial system; Mr. Halliday admitting that "the criminal judicatories certainly do not command the confidence of the people;" that "the general native opinion is certainly that the administration of criminal justice is little more than a lottery, in which, however, the best chances are with the criminal; and this is also very much the opinion of the English mofussil (provincial) community." Mr. Wylie says that "venality and corruption are as notoriously elements of the police system *as false witnesses are of the courts of justice.*" Even in the favoured North-West, we find Mr. Raikes, whilst anxious to show the bright side of things, admitting it as "the weakest point in the English administration of India," that "men, pure and high-minded themselves, yield to a *supposed* necessity of impurity and corruption in others," and mildly declaring that judge not to be "blameless, who presides in a court *where many, at least, of the minor processes*

¹ To the above statements, I may be permitted to add some confirmation from personal experience. It is not many years since I had in my hands the whole proceedings of a civil suit in Southern India; in which judgment had been given (by an English magistrate) in favour of a plaintiff who adduced no evidence whatever, on the plea that the defendant had not produced any to rebut his assertions; thus ignoring one of the most elementary rules of jurisprudence and common sense,—that it is for the plaintiff to prove his case. On instancing this, lately, to a member of the Calcutta bar, he assured me that he knew of many similar cases.

of justice are commonly bought and sold." We shall see hereafter how Mr. Campbell, a well-known civilian, attributes the prevalence of perjury in India directly to our judicial system. The administration of justice, then, whether civil or criminal, in the Company's courts, appears to be supremely cumbersome and inefficient in Madras, —a mere lottery in Bengal,—in the hands of the native officials, venal everywhere.¹

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III. Turn now to the revenue system of the East India Company; examine how it is constituted.

By the last published returns of the Indian revenue and expenditure for 1856, we find that the gross revenue for that year was, 28,812,097*l.*; the nett, 22,147,347*l.*, no less than 6,664,750*l.*, or more than 23 per cent., being absorbed in the expenses of collection. In other words, for every fifteen shillings or so that the Company receive,

¹ The following opinion of a Bengal missionary, quoted by Mr. Wylie, deserves to be repeated here :

"It is, doubtless, the first duty of a State to make its authority respected in every corner of the land, and to render the redress of the grievances of all classes cheap and expeditious; and not, by the imposition of taxes on the process of the law, to close the courts of justice against the cries of the poor. Tried by the above rule, every upright and intelligent person, who is well acquainted with the interior of the country, will be constrained to acknowledge that, in these respects, the Indian Government fails. The administration of the law is too dilatory and expensive for the labouring poor to avail themselves of the protection which it is designed to afford; many, therefore, submit to oppression, extortion, and robbery, as a less evil than appealing to the courts; while he who gains his suit sustains,—in the payment of legalised fees and enforced ones, in time unnecessarily wasted, and in injury to his crops while absent from home,—a loss which he often feels for years, and sometimes during the whole of his life."—*Bengal as a Field of Missions*, p. 220.

PART III. nearly one pound has to be extracted from the pocket of the subject—an enormous proportion.¹

The Present. **LECT. XIX.** This revenue is divided officially under the seven heads (reckoning in the order of productiveness) of the land revenue, the opium duties, the salt duties, the customs, miscellaneous receipts, stamps, and the post-office; but amongst these, the land revenue supplies more than half,—say thirteen millions nett out of twenty-two,—at the still more frightful cost of four and a half millions, or nearly thirty-five per cent. The opium monopoly produces nearly four millions more,—still at the lamentable cost of more than thirty-one per cent. The salt monopoly supplies nearly two millions, and costs more than thirty per cent. Then come nearly two millions more of customs, levied at a trifling rate of expenditure, the three remaining items supplying less than a million each.

The Land Revenue, then, claims our foremost attention. Of this I have said much already. It may be well here to recall the fact, that three different systems of land-revenue prevail in India: the zemindaree system of Bengal, where a fixed assessment is raised from certain persons who are assumed to be proprietors of the soil; the ryot-war system of Madras and Bombay, where the

	Gross.	Cost of Collection.
¹ Land Revenue . . .	£17,817,299	£4,515,159
Customs	1,934,906	116,609
Salt	2,485,389	574,282
Opium	4,871,227	1,156,874
Post Office	219,045	241,115
Stamps	504,329	30,958
Other Receipts	979,902	29,753
	<hr/> £28,812,097	<hr/> £6,664,750

revenue is raised by annual settlements from the individual cultivators; and the putteedaree or village system of the North-West, where it is raised for terms of years, through settlements made no longer with the individual cultivators, but with the village communities.

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As respects the zemindaree system of Bengal,—besides that the revenue is said to be declining,—the missionaries allege, in their memorial presented to Lord Dalhousie shortly before he left the country, that “it is a great and growing evil, particularly when considered in connexion with the general character, both of zemindars and ryots. It encourages the concealment, and consequently the commission, of crime. It impedes the administration of justice; and, whilst it emboldens the rich to set the law at defiance, it leads the poor to despair of obtaining redress, even against the greatest wrongs that may be inflicted on them.” It “may be convenient as a fiscal measure; but, on the other hand, the experience of sixty years proves that it tends to demoralize and pauperize the peasantry, and to reduce this fair and fertile land to a condition similar to that under which Ireland suffered so grievously and so long.” Abundance of corroborative evidence to this effect will be found in the report of the Mission Conference of Calcutta in 1855. Very touching is the petition of the ryots of Krishnagur to the Company:—

“We are the Honourable Company’s subjects; and we are such gladly. We do not object to their taxation; on the contrary, we give their appointed taxes with willing hearts. However, we scarcely know that the Honourable Company is our ruler; but the zemindars appear to us to

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be our governors, because they deal with us according to their pleasure, as we have stated above. We prefer, therefore, this request,—that we cannot possibly endure the oppression of the zemindars any longer.”

I think it will be difficult to contend, after this, that the land-revenue system of Bengal is not oppressive to the people. Turn we to Madras.

Here, as I have said, the ryotwar system is chiefly prevalent, though the zemindaree lingers in a few districts of the coast. The native petitioners start with declaring that their grievances “arise principally from the excessive taxation, and the vexations which accompany its collection;” as well as “the inefficiency, delay, and expense of the Company’s courts of law.” Nearly three-eighths of the petition are taken up with the land-revenue. They have had, they say, and continue to have, “the greatest repugnance to the innovations of both the zemindaree and ryotwar systems; the more so, as they are both the instruments of injustice and oppression, but especially the ryotwar.” As to the remnants of the zemindaree, they represent—

“The imperative necessity for definite and effective regulations to restrain the zemindar from the continual practice of oppressive extortions, in taking away the best lands from their original holders, for the purpose of bestowing them on his own relations and favourites; compelling the ryots to cultivate such lands without payment, and obliging the ryots to buy the zemindar’s grain at prices far above the market value; as likewise for granting greater facilities to the ryots for preferring their grievances, and for the due and early inquiry into, and settlement of them by the collectors.”

Still, the ryotwar is the main grievance—“the curse of the country,” as they term it. In spite of all orders issued to mitigate it, “the over-assessment continues unaltered, the ryots are

compelled to cultivate at the pleasure of the *tehsildar*" (native deputy-collector), "and the acknowledged right of private property in no-wise prevents the oppression of the owner, nor his gradual and sure de pauperation." I cannot help pointing out how singularly these statements, proceeding not from poor cultivators, but from native gentlemen of high standing at Madras, confirm in many respects those of the European missionaries of Bengal. Yet, so far from this agreement in testimony proceeding from unity of opinion, the Madras petitioners complain strongly of Christian Church establishment and Government proselytism.

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But, indeed, the condition of Madras under the ryotwar system can be placed beyond a doubt. Lord Harris, in a paper which he had the praiseworthy boldness to put forth at the beginning of the year 1856, stated, as I have before observed, that in the whole Presidency, out of five millions of farmers,¹ there were not ten worth 1,000*l.*; that the area of cultivation was only one-fifth of the whole, with no tendency to increase. He determined to sacrifice at once one-third of the revenue, reducing the tax from thirty-five per cent. (nominal) to the old Hindoo rate of twenty-five per cent. of the gross produce—fixing the assessment for fifty years. I am not aware how far this plan has been sanctioned by the Company. But annual settlements are still taking place.

As respects the revenue system of Bombay, I can only say it is still the ryotwar, with its annual settlements, and must, therefore, be open

¹ The Government being the landlord, this term includes here *the whole of the agricultural classes.*

PART III. to the same evils, mitigated in part, I trust, by
The Present. more direct European influence. Abundance of
LECT. XIX. evidence will be found as to its oppressiveness,
 in the Minutes of the House of Commons' Committee on the Growth of Cotton in India, in 1848. A fixed assessment is, however, being introduced in part of the territory.

There remains, then, the favoured North-West. Here, as I have shown, the village system has at last been established. To this all the rest of India looks, as the great object of desire. The poor ryots of Krishnagur ask for it in their simple way, in requesting "that the Honourable Company appoint a faithful man, or one whom the ryots recommend out of their own number, to each village, to collect and remit the rent." The Madras petitioners expressly pray that "the ancient system which obtained in the country prior to its subjugation by the Mahomedans, may be again reverted to; viz. the village system, or the collection of the revenue from the land by means of villages, instead of individuals; without the interference of zemindars, or middlemen, on the one hand, and free from the harassing oppressions of Government servants on the other." Yet, even in the North-West Provinces, the revenue is declining.¹

To conclude, then, as to this first head of Indian revenue. Of the three systems of land revenue adopted by the Company, two are fearfully harassing to the people; one of them—

¹ The late Mr. Thomason was warned by experienced civilians, that his land assessment was too high; and there seems reason to fear that, for greater convenience of revenue collection, too much power has been given to village headmen—thereby sliding back towards the vices of the zemindaree system.

the zemindaree—so bad, that it would seem that nothing absolutely could be worse, until we discover that the ryotwar system of Madras and Bombay even surpasses it in badness ; whilst the third, in the North-West, good in itself, bears yet strong presumption of over-assessment.

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The next most productive source of Indian revenue, as we have seen, is the Opium monopoly, forming part of what is termed the *Abkaree*.¹

Of the trade in opium it is material to observe, that it was only in 1773 that the East India Company engaged in it ; that “the first legislative enactment for restraining illicit trade in opium was passed in 1795 ;” and that from this period until 1816, successive laws were passed, prohibiting importation from the native Indian States, laying down rules for the guidance of parties concerned in providing the drug for the Government,—“repressing the growth in some provinces, fostering it in others, and passing more stringent regulations for the repression of an increasing illicit trade,” all of which were codefied in 1816 in an Act of 98 sections.² The Company’s Government alone manufactures and sells opium in British India ; “entirely,” as was stated by an officer of the India Board, years ago, “with a view of meeting the taste of the

¹ As a sample of the articles on which the *Abkaree* duties are levied, I quote the following list for the district of Moorshedabad, in Bengal, as given in Mr. Wylie’s “*Bengal as a Field of Missions*,” p. 219 (omitting native names): “A fermented liquor made from rice ; Europe wines and spirituous liquors ; opium ; a preparation of opium with paun leaf ; the leaf and flower of a description of hemp ; (Bhang) the leaf and flower of a sort of hemp, made into sherbet ; a preparation of bhang with sugar ; a preparation from the hemp plant.”

² See Major-General Alexander’s pamphlet on the “*Rise and Progress of British Opium Smuggling*,” (Seeleys, 1856)

PART III. Chinese," amongst whom its import is forbidden
The Present. by law ; for which purpose the most scientific
 LECT. XIX. processes are sought out, and men of the highest
 attainments employed to superintend its preparation. In the first instance, however, they buy the article ; and, in order to maintain its supply, the ryots in the opium districts (Patna and Benares) "are compelled" (practically) to give up fixed portions of their lands for the production of the poppy. So numerous are the officials' hands through which the money paid has to pass, that scarcely twenty per cent. of it ever reaches the cultivator. He lives, moreover, exposed to constant suspicion, and "to every sort of annoyance which the ingenuity of authorised plunderers (the police and the custom-house searchers) can devise, in order to extort bribes." But, in spite of all efforts to the contrary, "wherever it is grown it is eaten, and the more it is grown the more it is eaten." "One-half of the crime in the opium districts" (so writes a gentleman—Mr. Andrew Sym—who has been in charge of one of the Company's Branch Opium Agencies), "murders, rapes, and affrays, have their origin in opium-eating." "One opium cultivator," he is reported to have said, "demoralizes a whole village."¹

The regulations under which the poppy is grown, and the opium is manufactured, are, as pointed out by General Alexander, of an almost incredible nature. The crop is one of so uncertain a nature, the margin of profit so small, that the cultivation is only carried on by means of

¹ See Mr. W. S. Fry's "Facts and Evidence relating to the Opium Trade with China," Pelham Richardson, 1840 ; or Major-General Alexander's pamphlet.

Government advances to the ryot, who contracts beforehand to deliver a given quantity ; and, if failing to do so through "neglect," has to repay the advance with interest at twelve per cent., with a further penalty, not exceeding the amount of interest. Every landholder, farmer, or native officer is liable to penalties for not giving "the earliest information" as to the growth of illegal poppies. The purchase, the acceptance as a gift, of *any* quantity of contraband opium, entails a penalty of 50*l*. The very opium-vendor appears to be mulcted in the amount of one month's tax, before he can give up his licence. "A fruitful field," says a Company's servant, "is the abkaree system, and the licence granted to opium and drug farmers to oppress the people, and screw money out of them. I say licence given, because they make use of their farming licence to be guilty of all kinds of villany . . . The farmers of the abkaree make large profits, not by the sale of drugs, but by holding a threat of searching honest people's houses *in terrorem* over them ; they seize contraband articles, extort money from the contrabandists, who are too glad to compromise with them, rather than be sent up to the collector . . and the farmer is glad to let them off for what he can screw out of them, because he gets the *whole*, and has neither the onus nor trouble of furnishing proof of the guilt of the parties."¹

The cultivation of opium is, however, restricted by law to Bengal. In other parts of India, the abkaree represents the excise duties, chiefly on spirits, which are also grievously complained of.

¹ Revelations of an Orderly, pp. 10, 11, 12.

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PART III. Let it be observed, in the first instance, that,
The Present. until we took India in hand, the natives were a
 LECT. XIX. peculiarly temperate race. Thus, Warren Has-
 tings, at the close of that character of them
 of which I have before quoted a portion, says
 that, among their qualities, he has "omitted to
 mention one, *which is not a general, but a uni-
 versal, trait of their character. Their temperance
 is demonstrated in the simplicity of their food,
 and their total abstinence from spirituous liquors,
 and other substances of intoxication.*"

But what is the case now? Arrack, the Ma-
 dras petition says, is made at the Government
 distilleries in the capital, and thence supplied to
 licensed vendors. In the interior, the manufac-
 ture and sale of the article is committed to
 farmers by competition. Whilst salt is kept at
 famine price, the sale price of spirits "is ex-
 tremely low; the quantity consumed, and the
 number of consumers, is immense. Drunkenness,
 with all its miseries, is, consequently, common
 throughout the land." Major-General Alexander
 entirely confirms this testimony from his own
 experience (for corroboration of which he can
 "confidently appeal . . . to almost every civil
 and military officer and missionary throughout
 India"), of "the progressive and destructive
 course of intoxication by opium and ardent spi-
 rits." He has "heard judges, magistrates, and
 collectors, bear their testimonies to the rapid
 deterioration of the native character in this
 respect, which is more authoritatively proved by
 the records of their courts and offices. Families
 feel it in their drunken servants, and missionaries
 deplore it as an increasing obstacle to the pro-

gress of the Gospel." The Mahommedans, in particular, he declares, are positively "wasting away" in the south, "through the use of opium and bhang."¹

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As respects Bombay, the existence of similar evils on the fertile sea-coast is apparent from Lutfullah's autobiography. Speaking of the district between Surat and Broach, he says that "toddy or palm-juice is a general calamity for the low people of this district. Toddy-shops are found in all the villages, and even the roads are not without them : at the distance of one or two miles you can always find a shop. . . . This diabolical drink is the cause of many evil deeds being done by the poor ignorant people of the district."²

The Bengal missionaries say, in like manner, in their petition, that "the abkaree system for the regulation of the sale of wines, spirits, and drugs, has, in practical operation, tended to foster, among a people whose highest commendation was temperance, a ruinous taste for ardent spirits and destructive drugs, *by the efforts made to establish new licensed depôts for them*, in places where the use of such things was little, or was not at all, known before."

Kindred to the opium monopoly and the abkaree, though less baneful, is the tobacco monopoly, confined to the provinces of Malabar and Canara. The growth of it, like that of opium, is, in reality, compulsory—the land deemed

¹ "The Rise and Progress of British Opium Smuggling," pp. 19, 20. See, also, Captain Hervey's "Ten Years in India," Vol. I. p. 304 and following, and elsewhere, as to drunkenness in the Madras Army.

² Lutfullah, pp. 195-6.

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capable of producing it being assessed at so high a rate, that nothing else can be grown. It is carried on, like that of opium, by means of Government advances, and the price paid for the produce is about one-fifth of the price at which it is retailed by the Company. The cultivation brings with it similar prohibitions, penalties, inquisitorial visits, &c. &c., as that of opium.¹

The salt monopoly comes next,—a branch of revenue which, in its most mitigated form, we have been only too glad to abolish at home,—but which must, from its very nature, unless most tenderly regulated, press with peculiar weight on the population of India, whose food is not only in great degree vegetable, but consists throughout vast districts almost exclusively of rice,—a grain, as we know, peculiarly tasteless ; whilst fish is another prevailing article of consumption, and one peculiarly requiring the addition of salt in a hot country. The Madras petitioners state that the salt monopoly was introduced into their Presidency by the Company, prior to whose rule the article was only subject to a trifling duty. The Company first farmed out the right of manufacture to individuals ; then, in 1806, took the manufacture into its own hands, and instantly doubled the price ; raised it to three times the original price in 1809 ; and, after various ups and downs, fixed it finally at an amount somewhat less than four times the price before the monopoly. This, however, applies only to the wholesale price ; to

¹ See "Free Trade and the Cotton Question with Reference to India," by F. C. Brown, Esq. (Effingham Wilson, 1847), pp. 109-12.

the poor, inland, it is enhanced from 50 to 200 per cent. : and the consequence is, that either the poor go without salt altogether, or substitute an unwholesome article impregnated with saline particles, which they manufacture at the risk of punishment, *the procurement of salt other than that of the monopoly being prohibited* under pain of fine and corporal punishment, inflicted at the discretion of the collector or his *tehsildar* (deputy). It is shown, in a paper contained in the *Indian News* for 1855 (No. 302), that, notwithstanding most incredible official misstatements to the contrary, the average consumption of salt per head in India is only eight pounds per annum,—being in England from twenty-one to twenty-five pounds, and the Bengal sepoy receiving twenty-three pounds as his regulation allowance ; that the Government monopoly price at Madras is 1,300 per cent. above cost price, and is far above that of the common grain of the district ; that in the interior the wholesale price rises to 72*l.* a ton,¹—the price of Cheshire salt in London being 33*s.* ; and that the retail price of the quantity required for a family's consumption actually represents to the cultivator in the interior the amount of three

¹ The salt monopoly is often glibly talked of as a "poll-tax." There might be some ground for the use of the term, if the Indian Government undertook the expense of carriage, so as to offer its salt to the population at the same price in any part of the country,—as the French Government do with their tobacco. But instead of this, the Indian Government sell their salt at or near the pan, thus throwing on the consumer the whole burden of the carriage. Imagine a poll-tax which amounts to a shilling in London and to 10*l.* in Leamington, and you will have an idea of the accurate phraseology of Indian economists in this matter.

PART III. months' wages, where it represents only one
The Present week's wages to the English labourer. And my
 LECT. XIX. uncle, Mr. F. C. Brown, in an appendix to his
 pamphlet entitled "Free Trade and the Cotton
 Question, with reference to India," pointed out
 how the price of this article (of which, in the
 native times, fifty measures sold for the same
 money as the Company sold two-and-a-half)
 affects the prosperity of the country in many
 different ways, checking fisheries, entirely pre-
 venting any trade in salt fish (though fish are
 most abundant on the coast); hindering the
 cultivation of rice and the cocoa-nut tree,—the
 best manure for which is salt mud, which forms
 part of the monopoly;—hindering the raising
 of sheep or horned cattle. Thus, to quote one
 instance, he mentions that the chief expense in
 keeping a flock of Merino sheep in the Deckan,
 was the expense of salt.

I have chiefly referred to the state of things
 in Madras. The Minutes of Evidence of the
 Cotton Committee of 1848 show the mischievous
 operation of the monopoly in Bombay.¹ In
 Bengal the monopoly is stated to be less oppres-
 sive. But we cannot forget the insurrection in
 Orissa, of which it was the chief cause in 1817;
 nor the rising of the Afreedees in the far North-
 West, when Sir Charles Napier was Commander-
 in-Chief,—the price having been raised from one
 rupee for twenty measures to twenty rupees per
 measure. Nor must it be supposed that its evils
 are confined to British India alone. As the
 opium trade of the native States of Malwa has to
 be checked for the sake of the Company's opium

¹ See, for instance, Mr. Savile Marriott's Evidence.

monopoly, so is the Company's salt monopoly thwarted by the existence of any freer system under native rule. So do we aim at getting possession of every salt-pan and salt-lake out of our own dominions. In Lutfullah's autobiography will be found the indication of a transaction of this nature in 1841, in which it was urged—successfully, of course—upon the Nawab of Cambay that “it was impossible to prevent the salt being undersold, and the revenue defrauded, under the old system carried on by his people; and that the management of the pans must therefore devolve upon the British functionaries.”¹ Let it always be borne in mind that every fraud and vexation attending the opium monopoly follows also in the wake of every other monopoly of the Company.

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But, perhaps, the most extraordinary fact relating to the salt monopoly remains to be stated. It is a trifle less burdensome now than it was when the earliest of the foregoing statements were made, through reduction of the import duties upon the article. Imagine the possibility of Cheshire salt, produced in a damp and comparatively cold climate like our own, under all the disadvantages of rent and royalty, rates and taxes, interest on capital, and a high price of labour—after being carried, bulky as it is, to the other end of the world—being sold, to one of the poorest populations of the world, cheaper than that manufactured on their own coasts, where evaporation takes place with extraordinary rapidity; where labour is at 2*d.* a day; by a Government which pays neither rent

¹ Lutfullah, p. 365.

PART III. nor royalty, rates nor taxes ;—by a paternal
The Present. Government, for the use of a people whose mode
 LECT. XIX. of life renders it peculiarly necessary to them !
 Such, nevertheless, is the case. The receipts of
 the salt monopoly have declined largely under
 the competition of the English article ;¹ and the
 Government have been forced to lower their
 price. Yet it was after the increased supply
 through importation that the wholesale selling-
 price of Government salt, as shown by the
Indian News in 1855, was 1,300 per cent. above
 cost price.

Lastly comes according to the Madras petition,
 “the grievance of small farms and licences, in-
 tended for raising what is called extra revenue,
 and which consists in the annual leasing out to
 individuals of certain privileges, such as the
 right of measuring grain and other articles ; *the
 right to the sweepings of the goldsmiths’ work-
 shops ; the right of dyeing betel-nut ; of cutting
 jungle-wood ; of grazing cattle ; of gathering
 wild fruit and wild honey ; of catching wild
 fowl ; of cutting grasses used in thatching ; basket-
 rushes and cow-dung ; and innumerable other
 such rights* of levying taxes from the poorest of
 the poor, who feel them to be a most intolerable
 burden, not only in the amount but in the
 vexations attendant on the collection of the
 money.”

I have no time to linger over the above in-
 credible list, which proves at least an unsur-
 passable amount of fiscal ingenuity. Imagine

¹ See Mr. John Dickinson, jun.’s pamphlet, “The Govern-
 ment of India under a Bureaucracy” (No. 6. of the India
 Reform Tracts), p. 141.

what our blessings would be, if we had to pay tax for the right of gathering blackberries in a hedge! Mr. F. C. Brown adds other articles to the list, such as the cardamum farm, the result of which he shows to have been to stimulate the growth of the article in other countries, and thereby to lower the price to one-fifth of what it was when the Company took possession of the province of Malabar, where it is grown; the farms of bees'-wax, wild turmeric, wild ginger, seed lac, &c. "I have had," says he, "the bees'-wax farmer and his peons (officers) come to my house in the country, and require me to deliver up to him all the Company's bees'-wax in my possession; that is, if I kept bees, to deliver up all the wax they made."

The customs duties do not seem to call for particular observation; neither the post-office, nor the stamps—though there are grievances connected with each, and the rate of stamp duties especially is said to be enormous.

Another most objectionable tax is, the "moturpha," a tax upon trades and occupations, embracing weavers, carpenters, workers in metals, salesmen, &c.; levied sometimes by way of licence, and sometimes upon the tools employed, and often exceeding the cost of such, six times over. Although of Mahomedan origin, it was never universal in Madras, and was only declared so by a regulation of 1832; indeed, its introduction, so late as 1843, into one particular district, is stated to have been the occasion of a serious disturbance. It is stated to be most irregular in its levy, to cost often more than its own amount in expenses; "while the discretionary power

PART III. under which it is collected, affords a wide field
The Present. for the perpetual practice of inquisitorial visits.
 LECT. XIX. extortion and oppression, as suits the pleasure of
 the irresponsible collectors, with whom it is no
 unusual thing to resort to imprisonment and
 fetters, in order to compel their exactions.”
 Mr. F. C. Brown quotes many extraordinary in-
 stances of the incidence of this tax. Thus, an
 annual tax is directly levied upon every cocoa-
 nut tree, to begin with, apparently as part of the
 land-revenue. The juice of this, called toddy,
 produces sugar. The knife, with which the tree
 must be cut to yield the juice, must pay a tax.
 The pot in which the juice is boiled for sugar,
 pays a second. The washerman pays tax for the
 very stone on which he beats his clothes. It is
 right, however, to state, that the moturpha has
 been abolished in Bengal and Bombay, for several
 years, surviving only in Madras.

It follows, therefore, that almost every branch
 of the Company's revenue is collected in the
 most wasteful manner to the State; in the most
 vexatious to the tax-payer; in the most demoral-
 izing to the community.

Now, if it be alleged in defence of such a sys-
 tem, that it is borrowed from our Mahommedan
 predecessors, the first answer is, that they are con-
 fessedly the worst of models to imitate; and that we
 deserve little credit, if, during a century of rule,
 we have devised nothing better than what they
 practised. But even this plea, bad as it is, would
 be in great measure a false one. It is our pe-
 culiar credit to have erected the exactions of con-
 querors into a fixed system; to have universal-
 ized mischiefs which were but local; and whilst

taking away a few burdens on trade here or there (such as the transit duties from province to province, extraordinary relics of barbarism, only abolished within the last few years), to have intensified most of the evils which we have retained. Thus, in Bengal, we, and not the Mussulmen, raised the lawless oppressions of the revenue farmer into the claims of the recognised land-owner. We, and not the Mussulmen, extinguished the principle of village communities there, and by the ryotwar system have done our best to extinguish it in Bombay and Madras. We, and not the Mussulmen, invented the salt monopoly, raising everywhere enormously the price of a necessary of life. We, and not the Mussulmen, have created the opium monopoly—demoralized the country wherever the poppy is grown. We, and not the Mussulmen, have raised a revenue by spirit licences, and spread drunkenness throughout the length and breadth of a land famed for temperance hitherto.

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LECTURE XX.

THE GOVERNMENT QUESTION.

PART III.—CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY AND OF THE PEOPLE.

Absence of Encouragement to Agriculture: Want of Roads; Neglect of Irrigation—Attempts to throw the Expense of both upon the Cultivator—Success of Experimental Improvements—Alleged Prosperity of the People—Whence Cooly Emigration—Impoverishment in Madras—Impoverishment in Bombay—Wretchedness in Bengal—Spread of Perjury—Is Contentment Likely?—Missionary Evidence as to Discontent in Bengal—Evidence of the late Insurrection—Summary—Conclusions: India to be made a Crown Government; Royal Commission of Inquiry—Mode of Reconstituting Village Communities—What might be worse than the Company's Government.

PART III. IV. I COME now to the fourth ordinary mark of
The Present. good government—encouragement of agriculture,
 LECT. XX. industry, and commerce. The question is indeed
 { three parts disposed of already. Facilities have
 undoubtedly been given to trade. But it is difficult to see how agriculture can flourish under a heavy land-tax, raised for the most part directly upon the cultivator—raised in money, when money is scarce. It is difficult to see how industry can flourish—in Madras at least—under a system of yearly licences, which mulct the commonest workman for the use of his commonest tools, sometimes to the amount of six

times their value,—which make it a state privilege even to pluck wild fruits in the forest. Still, as some new features of the Company's rule will develop themselves in the inquiry, it may be worth while examining the question on its own bottom.

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It is commonly said, in defence of the Indian land-tax, that it is really only a land-rent. This is true in some respects, although it might not, perhaps, be difficult to show the inconsistency of this view in other respects with the theories of political economy as to the nature of rent. But let us admit the position without discussion. A rent, reduced only of late years to twenty-five per cent. of the gross produce, nominally, as it has been in Madras, is in itself a somewhat high one, particularly when we are told that in practice it has amounted to even seventy per cent. At any rate, "property has its duties as well as its rights." Where cultivators occupy the land only as yearly tenants, we can hardly expect them to make improvements.¹ Where, as in Madras, out of five million cultivators, not ten are worth 1,000*l.*, the possibility of their improving the land is yet more hopeless. Where, on the other hand, the landlord alleges himself owner of the whole country, with the exception of one portion, we may fairly expect extraordinary efforts on his part in the way of improvement. Still more may he be called upon to do

¹ It is idle, says an Indian officer, Major Cunningham, "to dispute whether the Indian farmer pays a 'rent,' or a 'tax,' in the technical sense, since, practically, it is certain, that the Government (or its assign, the *jagheer*dar, or grantee) gets, in nearly all instances, almost the whole surplus produce of the land."—*History of the Sikhs*, p. 366.

PART III. so when, a practical absentee, he carries away
The Present. yearly with him more than one-seventh of his
 LECT.XX. rental to a foreign country, whilst spending no
 money on his estate but what is derived from it.¹

One of the chief wants of agriculture, industry, and trade in all countries is—means of communication. In a hot country like India, the means of irrigation are another essential want of the agriculturist.

“Imagine a portion of England without a mile of made road, or canal, or railway; without a bridge, and wholly impracticable to anything but a man on foot or an animal, and even to them for several months in the year; and then suppose this tract of land to be cut off from the ocean by from 100 to 500 miles of similar country, and an idea will be formed of the state of the people in India.”

Who says this? a semi-mutinous native? a cantankerous indigo-planter? a foolish missionary? No,—Colonel Cotton, the chief engineer to the Madras Government, addressing the Society of Arts in this country, on the 25th April, 1855.

The details of this subject, as presented by Colonel Cotton on the one hand, by the Madras petition of 1852 on the other, are almost incredible, were it not that they support each other. Thus, the Madras petition tells us that

¹ The “Home Charges” of the Indian Government in 1855-6, were 3,264,629*l.*, out of a revenue of 23,147,347*l.* nett. It is this frightful yearly drain of capital, which seems to be constantly reducing the prices of produce in India, so as to render the most moderate money-tax of to-day, after the lapse of a few years, an intolerable burden. Such a fall in prices at least appears to be established by the bulk of the evidence taken before the Cotton Committee of 1848. I am bound to say, however, that there are statements, chiefly collected by Colonel Sykes, to the contrary. The whole question of prices in India deserves very careful scrutiny, at the hands of really impartial persons.

in one district of extreme fertility,—“one of the finest cotton-fields in South India,”—measuring 13,000 square miles, there is nothing that deserves the name of a road; and the so-called trunk road from it is so bad, “that the Military Board use it as a trial ground to test the powers of new gun-carriages, which are pronounced safe if they pass over this severe ordeal.” Colonel Cotton says, that, in each district the traveller passes through, “there is, perhaps, fifty miles of imperfectly made road, on a surface of 10,000 square miles, equal to ten English counties,—perhaps not a single mile, excepting the carriage-drive at the principal European station.” The Madras petition finally tells us that, “the entire extent of road practicable for bullock-carts scarcely exceeds 3,000 miles for the entire Presidency; mostly without bridges, impracticable in wet weather, tedious and dangerous in the dry season.” And this is notoriously nothing more than the truth.

But now the most extraordinary part of the story has to be told. The State, assuming to be universal landlord, actually pretends to throw upon its yearly tenants, the ryots, the expense of road-making. Well does the Madras petition observe that, “pressed down as they are by a heavy load of taxes, which renders them too poor to purchase Company’s salt for their miserable food of boiled rice and vegetables, the latter too frequently wild herbs, the spontaneous produce of the uncultivated earth,—unable to supply themselves with clothes, beyond a piece of coarse cotton fabric, worth two shillings, once in a twelvemonth,—it is impossible for them to

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PART III. find the means or the time for road-making
The Present. gratis, even if they possessed the skill requisite
 LECT XX. for the purpose."

Now turn to the question of irrigation. On "the construction and preservation of channels," as the Madras petition observes, "not merely the fertility of its soil, but the practicability of its cultivation, is mainly dependent on the Eastern side of India. Both the reservoirs and channels are of the remotest antiquity, and were in former times extremely numerous; but at the present time, not more than four-fifths of those still existing are kept in repair, while others have altogether disappeared."¹

Yet this is not all. We have seen how the Government endeavour to throw the expense of road-making on their yearly tenants the cultivators. They have been more ingenious still as respects the means of irrigation. How, the

¹ The following extract from a private letter, dated 29th August, 1857, gives a good idea of the state of things in this respect:—

"Since the 1st May we have had *only* 146 inches of rain, —twelve feet two inches perpendicular in less than four months! It was this rain which the ancient princes of South India stored in vast tanks, many miles square, and distributed during the dry season to the cultivators of the soil; and as water is alone wanted to make the soil go on yielding abundant crops from year's end to year's end, such a thing as a famine in these countries, or even an absolute scarcity, became unknown. In the eastern provinces of Madras there are upwards of 52,000 agricultural tanks of this kind, constructed centuries before an Englishman set foot in India—numbers of them unseen and unvisited by an Englishman to this day. Taking account that money is at least ten or twelve times more valuable in India than in England, that is to say, that there is twelve times less of it in the one country than in the other, these tanks, viewed as public works, represent about the same amount of capital invested, as has been laid out upon railways in England."

following extract from a private letter will explain :—

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“As in railways, the first charge upon the earnings is for maintenance and working expenses, so in Indian tanks, the very first demand upon the land irrigated by their water, before a sixpence was suffered to be taken or devoted to any other purposes whatever, was for each tank's annual repairs. What did the East India Company do? They took the money for the repairs, allowed [many of] the tanks to go to ruin, and exacted, as in many cases they still exact, the same money-revenue from the cultivators, amounting at the present day to fifty, sixty, and seventy per cent. of the gross produce of the soil, as if the tanks were kept in perfect repair, and the cultivators received the quantity of water required to grow a full crop of produce.”

This statement (which is of the present year) simply confirms those of the Madras petition of 1852, which testifies to the annual levy upon the ryots for the repair of reservoirs and channels. The most extraordinary circumstance is, that the construction of new reservoirs even is reckoned to yield a return of from fifty to seventy per cent., and that the supply of water, if properly husbanded, is really so abundant that, to use Colonel Cotton's words, quoted in the petition, “it is undoubted that, in the worst year that ever occurred, enough water has been allowed to flow into the sea to have irrigated ten times as much grain as would have supplied the whole population.”

The case of the Madras Presidency, as respects public works, is indeed, I trust, the worst of any. The amount expended on this object, at the date of the Madras petition (1852), is stated at scarcely one-half per cent. on the revenue; more than one and three-fourths in Bengal; two and a half in the favoured North-West. In Bombay, indeed, Mr. Williamson, a civilian, stated before the

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Cotton Committee of 1848, that up to that time 350 miles of roads fit for traffic were all that had been made by the Government of Bombay in thirty years.¹ But what are the statements of the Christian inhabitants of Bengal in their petition of 1853? That

"There is only one metalled road in the Lower Provinces, the Grand Trunk Road; and it is the only road supported at the expense of Government. The other roads are made by the landholders on the requisition of the magistrate, or with local funds; and, generally, they are designed to connect the different police-stations, and not to open traffic or benefit the country people; and from the nature of their materials, most of them, during the rains, are nearly impassable. Other roads there are none; and the Grand Trunk Road itself, for want of bridges and sufficient repairs, is usually impassable for carriage traffic during a part of the rainy season . . . Of course a Government which makes no roads, builds no bridges across the great rivers, much though they be needed . . . On some rivers, tolls are taken for keeping open their navigation; but the navigation derives little benefit, and appears to be left to nature . . . A large surplus is derived from ferry tolls, and similar local sources, and is appropriated by promises and law, but not applied, to public improvements; except that, in the year 1850-51, a few hundreds of pounds were so applied, from the ferry funds, and distributed among several zillahs (districts), each containing an area of several thousand square miles."

The details of Mr. Wylie's work fully confirm the above general statement by the missionary accounts of particular districts. What is more remarkable, it is stated as respects one particular district—that of Backergunge or Burrisaul—that "though there are really no roads whatever in the district," yet in particular parts "we find remnants of what must once have been excellent highways, with brick bridges here and there."²

¹ Minutes of Evidence, question 1,990.

² Bengal as a Field of Missions, p. 101.

So the *Friend of India* in 1851 (April 24), speaking of the "disadvantageous contrast" exhibited by the Company's administration in India, "not only to the civilized Governments of Europe and America, but also to its less enlightened predecessors, the Mahommedans," says that in the two provinces of Bengal and Behar, "which have been longest in our possession, and which have yielded the largest amount of revenue—for one good road which we have constructed, *we have allowed twenty others to disappear.* We have erected one magnificent city, and *every other city of note has been allowed to go to ruin.*"¹ I need hardly observe that, as respects tanks, neglect in keeping them up not only impoverishes the land, but tends to promote malaria. The district of Dinapore appears to be one of the most miserable in Bengal. The "general food" of the farmers—

"Is nothing more than boiled rice, *often* with a little salt. Numbers cannot get even that; as a substitute for salt, they burn the dried leaves of the plantain tree, and use that as salt. Others can afford a few drops of mustard oil; in the cold and rainy season they pick up weeds, which they boil in the water of ashes mentioned above . . . He is a wealthy man who can get a house with mud walls . . . Those who can get a stone or brass plate, and a brass cup to drink out of, are well off; many have a mud platter and cup of the same sort . . . One earthen vessel for holding water, and another for boiling rice, is the furniture of thousands . . . Their lives are spent in misery, labouring for the extortioner and landholder; their crops, however large, are not theirs—the watcher is sent to their house as soon as the crop begins to ripen."

Yet in this district "many places are dotted all over with abominable old tanks full of rank

¹ Quoted in Mr. Dickinson's "Government of India under a Bureaucracy," p. 92.

PART III. weeds ;"¹ whilst in summer-time "all grass" is
The Present. "completely singed into dust."² "The roads are
 LECT. XX. scarcely fit to be called roads at all."³

Of Cuttack, a district of Orissa, a missionary at the Conference of 1855 stated, that in some parts "a cart is as great a novelty as a balloon ; such a thing has never been seen or heard of there ; consequently there are no roads, except such as you make as you go along the rice-fields."⁴

When these things are duly considered, I am afraid we shall feel that even such great works as the canals of the North-West,—not to speak of the electric telegraph, or of the few miles of dear railways,—are scarcely to be boasted of, comparatively with what has been left undone, —with what has actually been undone by us. They are things to make a show of in India House or House of Commons' speeches, but of which the benefit reaches comparatively but a small portion of the population. The clearing out of this poisonous old tank,—the repairing of that embankment,—the metalling of this mud-track through the jungle,—the piercing by a cheap canal of irrigation of that tongue of land of a few miles between two rivers,—such would be the cheap, homely, obscure labours which would really make our rule a blessing to the people. Only, I fear, in the newly-conquered Punjab have public works been carried on on a scale really commensurate to the needs of the country,—and who shall say how much they may have contri-

¹ Bengal as a Field of Missions, pp. 240, 241, 298.

² Ibid. p. 245.

³ Ibid. p. 248.

⁴ Missionary Conference, p. 54.

buted to secure us, in the hour of emergency, the services of those stalwart men upon whom lies now our main reliance in the North-West, beyond our own countrymen? Yet, wherever any real effort has been made to promote public works, it has been abundantly successful. Thus, to quote a fact already mentioned, ten years will have sufficed to give the small district of Rajamundry, in Madras, of 3,000 miles square, 1,000 miles of really cheap communication. The opening to trade which this has given is already enormous. And it is remarkable that Rajamundry and Masulipatam (where, I believe, similar works have lately been undertaken) form, with Tinnevely, the chief seat of native Christianity, the only three districts, so far as I am aware, with the exception of the Presidencies, from whence subscriptions have been forwarded on behalf of the *native* community for the benefit of the Indian Relief Fund. So surely will the affections of the native population follow any genuine efforts on our part for the improvement of their condition.¹

V. I come, then, to the last mark of good government—a thriving and contented people. It may seem tedious to many, after what we have gone through, even to enter on the consideration

¹ One cannot help feeling struck by the resemblance of the Indian Government to some of the most decried theories of French Socialism, but with the absence from it of most of their redeeming features. A State the universal landlord,—the abolition of individual property in land,—is the dream of many a French revolutionist. But he never yet thought of a universal landlord, which, taking everything, should give next to nothing in return to the cultivator, but only to its own *employés*. This form of bureaucratic Socialism is peculiar to India.

PART III. of this question. Yet, thank God, it cannot be
The Present. denied that there are parts of India where our
 LECT. XX. rule has brought prosperity with it. Wherever
 English freedom rules—as at the three Presidencies
 —wherever resolute individual benevolence has
 been allowed to have its way—wherever a single
 really good measure has encouraged improve-
 ment,¹ the exuberant fertility of the soil, and the
 industry of the people, have sufficed in a few
 years to make the wilderness into a garden.
 Instances like these can be quoted, I suppose,
 by every one who returns from India ; and by
 carefully making the most of these, the general
 effect of the system may be kept out of sight.
 But it is that general effect by which the system
 should be fairly judged. Nay, we must go
 farther, and say, that the worst cases are really
 those which show its operation the most con-
 clusively, the most nakedly.

Now there is one general effect which, as it
 seems to me, goes far to test the system. We
 hear much of Cooly emigration, as it is called.
 The prosperity of Mauritius, since the abolition
 of slavery, is wholly due to natives of India.
 Natives of India have been carried by the
 thousand to our West Indian Islands ; our own

¹ Mr. Wylie, speaking of the Sunderbunds, “once a well
 cultivated and populous country,” in which are frequently
 found “coins, ruins, and tanks ;” but which is now “a wide
 waste of water and forest, inhabited chiefly by wild beasts ;”
 adds, “of late years the British Government has successfully
 broken in the silent desert, by encouraging cultivators to
 take grants of land *rent-free for twenty years, with a reser-
 vation of a subsequent moderate assessment* ; and the success
 which has attended the experiment, in some cases, will prob-
 ably lead to the gradual spread of cultivation and civili-
 sation through the whole district.”—*Bengal as a Field of
 Missions*, p. 130.

territories supply even the bulk of the coolies shipped for the French settlements. Why do they leave India? Because population is redundant there? What! with only one-fifth of the total area of Madras under cultivation? With the single district of the Sunderbunds in Bengal of 5,000 square miles, at the mouth of the greatest of Indian rivers, below the capital of India, "a wide waste of water and forest, inhabited chiefly by wild beasts?" With the huge forests of Gondwara in the heart of the country? Observe, moreover, that the natives of India are by no means addicted to travel. Attachment to their homes, to their bit of land, if they can get one, is peculiarly strong with them. There is not a country in the world of which the soil is less likely to prove ungrateful to the husbandman, than India. There is not a people in the world less likely to quit their native soil, if they can remain upon it, than the Indian people.¹ Whence, then, cooly emigration?

¹ "All the feelings which in other lands centre in family love or patriotic pride, are concentrated by the Indian peasant on his land. Beyond it, beyond the range of his own village, and the nearest mart for village produce, he seldom bestows a thought. Little cares he who rules the land, so long as he is left in secure possession of his little speck of it."—*Raikes's "Notes on the North-Western Provinces,"* p. 134. The genuine Coolies (Kolees) are indeed, as elsewhere observed, an aboriginal tribe, somewhat nomadic in habit, who leave their homes as porters. The name has been extended from them, first to other aboriginal tribes who do the same, then to all porters, finally to all emigrants from India, and now even from China. The "coolies" of Calcutta seem to be tribes from Chota Nagpore, the south-western frontier of the Presidency of Bengal, called Urans and Moondas. Major Hannington says of them: "At Calcutta, they are looked on as mere beasts of burden. Yet they are men of a fine stamp."—*Bengal as a Field of Missions*, p. 180.

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As respects the general condition of the country, let us first recollect that Sir Thomas Munro wrote, years ago, that "even if we could be secured against every internal commotion, and could retain the country quietly in subjection," he doubted much "if the condition of the people would be better than under their native princes;" that the inhabitants of the British provinces were "certainly the most abject race in India;" that the consequence "of the conquest of India by the British arms would be, in place of raising, to debase the whole people."

How far do the facts of the day justify this opinion—this prophecy?

Take, first, Madras.

Captain Hervey writes in 1850. A visit to the French settlement of Pondicherry leads him to compare its state with that of British India. He finds "the inhabitants in good condition—without that poverty-stricken look about them which forms so remarkable a feature in the peasantry of our own territories." The country with us, he says, is "burnt up and badly watered, and the crops indifferent." The "generality of towns and villages" are "dirty and miserable," without "any attempt even to better the condition of the poor inhabitants. . . . As long as the revenue is collected, the condition of the miserable peasantry and of their villages is of secondary consideration." He speaks of "the misery which, every one knows, now exists to such a fearful extent." He attributes the frequent visitations of cholera to "the filthy state" of our native hamlets and towns, and to "the poverty of the inhabitants,"

“who are so pinched with want as to have nothing to eat.”¹

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Take a particular instance. Mr. Petrie, an engineer, was examined before the Cotton Committee of 1848. His experience had been in the south, chiefly in the districts of Salem and Coimbatore. He stated that the level of poverty among the cultivators was “very low indeed;” that he had “never known a single instance” of a cultivator being a small capitalist; that there was no elevation of condition among them during the five years of his stay.² Again, an Englishman, returning to the Malabar coast, after a long absence, in 1856, writes as follows:—

“The only class whose condition is at all improved, as far as I can see, during the eighteen years that I have been absent, are the Mapillas (Mussulmen); and that because they are the traders and merchants, and were the persons who immediately benefited by the abolition, under Lord Dalhousie, of the suicidal duties from port to port . . . Not a Hindoo have I seen, who has not declared that *they* are poorer than ever,—and what adds colour to their story is this: The jurisdiction of the Moonsiff (native judge) “has lately been enlarged to original suits for 1,000 rupees (100*l.*); and that of the court above his, to original suits for 2,500 (250*l.*). Now there is not a native, high or low, who, on mentioning this enlargement to 2,500 rupees, has not put his hand to his mouth, and burst out laughing at the idea of there being suits in the present day, for such a sum as 250*l.*”

Lord Harris’s almost contemporaneous declaration, that in all Madras there are not ten landholders or farmers worth 1,000*l.*, gives the official stamp to these statements. Let it be remembered that Madras comprises some of those provinces which, when wrested from the Mussulman princes

¹ Ten Years in India, Vol. II., pp. 281 and foll.; and see *ante*, Vol. I. Appendix E.

² Minutes of Evidence, queries 2,279 and foll.

PART III. of Mysore, were noted by English observers as remarkable for their wealth and prosperity. Indeed, *The Present.* any one reading the earliest records of the East India Company's trade, will be struck with the commercial activity which evidently prevailed two centuries ago along these coasts, now comparatively desolate.¹
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Take, next, Bombay.

I find the *Bombay Times* writing as follows in 1849 :—"It is allowed, on all hands, that the traveller may discover the boundaries betwixt the dominions of the East India Company and native rulers, *by the superior condition of the country and people, as compared to the former.*" The superiority, the writer goes on to say, of the Sattara,² or Kolapore ryots, or even those of the Nizam's country, "is so apparent in the midst of alleged mismanagement, as to strike the least observant. We have degraded the native gentry, and reduced the whole population to three classes,—the labourer, or mere beast of burden; the cultivator and trader, both broken in spirit, overburdened, and steeped in debt; and the usurer, who lives on the necessities of others."

It will be said that this is only newspaper evidence.

Mr. Savile Marriott, a civilian of nearly fifty years' standing, latterly member of Council in Bombay, has written of Western India as "verging to the lowest ebb of pauperism;" that "almost everything forces us to the conviction that we have before us a narrowing progress to utter pauperism." In 1848, examined before

¹ See Captain Hervey's "Ten Years in India," *passim*.

² *i. e.* As only recently annexed (in 1848).

the Parliamentary Committee on the growth of cotton in India, he stated that the condition of the cultivators was "very much depressed," and, he believed, "declining."¹ Mr. Giberne, another civilian, of twenty-three or twenty-four years' standing, whose experience as collector or otherwise extends over 250 miles of country, after fourteen years' absence from Guzerat, "did not see so many of the more wealthy classes of the natives," whilst "the ryots all complained that they had had money once, but they had none now."² Comparing the condition of the cultivators generally, when he left India, with their condition at the time he arrived, he considered that they had "certainly" not improved,³ whilst the upper classes "have become very poor indeed."⁴ He expressly states that the other parts of the country which he visited were "deteriorated."⁵ "In every one" of the districts in which he had been collector, the land assessment was "certainly" too high.⁶ Mr. Marriott also attributes the increasing poverty of the labouring classes to the gradually depressing influences of the fiscal system—the land-tax, and the mode in which it is collected, being the heaviest burden the people have to bear.⁷ And the autobiography of Lutfullah supplies us with similar evidence as to the decaying condition of the coast towns of Bombay to that of Captain Hervey as to those of Madras.⁸ But when he

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¹ Minutes of Evidence, queries 4, 631 and foll.

² Ibid. queries 2, 561 and foll.

³ Ibid. query 2, 649.

⁴ Ibid. query 2, 653.

⁵ Ibid. query 2, 560.

⁶ Ibid. query 2, 474.

⁷ Ibid. 4, 683 and foll.

⁸ Lutfullah, pp. 192, 196, 216.

PART III. passes into the native States of Rajpootana, the
The Present. contrast of his observations is striking. Instead
 LECT. XX. of dilapidated towns in very fertile districts, he
 finds wealthy ones in very unfertile ones. At
 "a mart on the borders of the desert" he buys
 European articles cheaper than at Bombay.

It is but right, however, to recal the fact, that for some years past the Bombay Government have been extending the practice of fixing the assessment for a term of years, and with the best effect—*e. g.* in the South Mahratta country. Other districts in Central India, such as the Nerbudda territory, settled on the village system, appear also to be prospering.

If we turn, lastly, to Bengal, we find the Missionaries, in their petition of 1852, stating that the evils of which they complain "appear to be on the increase." They believe—

"That a strict and searching inquiry into the state of the rural population of Bengal would lead . . . to the conclusion, that they commonly live in a state of poverty and wretchedness, produced chiefly by the present system of landed tenures and the extortion of the zemindars, aggravated by the inefficiency and the cruelties of the peace officers. . . . Between contending proprietors,—amidst scenes of constant conflict,—and a prey to the corruption and oppression of the police, the tenant is reduced, not merely to beggary, but also, in many cases, to a state of the most abject and pitiable servitude."

In their memorial to Lord Dalhousie, in 1855, they speak of the present working of the zemindaree system as "a great and growing evil." In their late memorial to Mr. Halliday, they declare that, since 1852, many circumstances have "deepened" their conviction, "that the social condition of the people of Bengal is deplorable

in the extreme, and that the representations in their petition fell short of the truth."¹

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We cannot separate testimonies as to the moral, from those as to the material condition of the people. A people sinking in wretchedness must always sink in morality. A people growing more and more demoralised can never rise in prosperity. Lying and perjury are vices which we are in the habit of charging, without a scruple, on the whole Indian people; of adducing as a conclusive ground against admitting them to political rights. They are vices which no doubt are rife—fearfully rife—in those provinces which have been longest under our rule. But what of those which have not? Let us hear a civilian writer, the nephew of a Lord Chief Justice, on this point.

Mr. Campbell, author of a work on modern India, writes as follows respecting the sanction of an oath in India:—

“The judicial oath, as it is used, does not in the least affect the evidence. And yet *this is not because the religious sanction of an oath is unknown to the people. On the contrary, it was nowhere stronger, and this is another of the changes introduced by our system. In a new country I found that a solemn oath was astonishingly binding . . . But such binding oaths do not exist in our older provinces. The judicial oath is much too common-place an affair to carry weight; and the people, seeing perjury practised with impunity, become used to it. The longer we possess any province, the more common and grave does perjury become.*”²

¹ One important Act has lately been passed by the Legislative Council,—giving the ryot a sort of tenant-right where his dues have been paid up, but the zemindar is in default.

² Not having Mr. Campbell's work before me, I quote the above from Mr. Dickinson's “Government of India under a Bureaucracy” (India Reform Tract, No. VI.), p. 46.

There are some persons whose conceptions of Hindooism are so distorted that they imagine it inculcates perjury;

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Can we resist the conclusion, that, if we strike off certain portions of the country, outlying ones chiefly—such as the Punjab, Scinde, the North-West Provinces, and those provinces of Central India to which the village-system has been extended—those again of Eastern India, wrested from the Burmese—a few districts here and there, such as Rajamundry, in which the Government has acted up to its duty as respects public works—the Presidential cities, and other exceptional cases—the condition of British India, as a whole, is the reverse of thriving—actually deteriorating : with this difference, indeed, that in the zemindary provinces a certain number of landholders have been enabled to become rich at the expense of others, whilst under the ryotwar system the uniform working of fiscal oppression has ground down all classes alike ? Can we resist the conclusion that the most common vice of the Indian people is one which spreads and grows with the breadth and duration of our rule ?

If this be the case—if it can, to the natives of India, have the appearance of being the case—it is idle to look for proofs of contentment and

but the following passages from Menu show how unfounded is the thought :

“By truth is a witness cleared from sin ; by truth is justice advanced : truth must therefore be spoken by witnesses of every class.

“The soul itself is its own witness ; the soul itself is its own refuge : offend not thy conscious soul, the supreme internal witness of men.

“The simple have said in their hearts, ‘None see us.’ Yes, the Gods distinctly see them ; and so does the spirit within their breasts.”—*Sir William Jones's Works*, Vol. III. p. 287.

loyalty on the part of the people. Who would have the effrontery to ask a Dinagepore ryot, who has "often" salt to his rice, or an Orissa ryot, obliged to eat his rice boiled the second day, to be "contented" as well as "loyal?" Who would ask it of a Guzerat ryot, who had money once, and has none now? Who would ask it of a Madras ryot, "very low indeed" in the level of his poverty? But who is likely to know anything of the feelings of the people? The civilian—the great man whose word is famine or plenty—will the cultivator, though he may weep and lie about his over-assessment, venture to hint to *him* that he considers the British rule any other than the most beneficent in the world? will the native officer, alone thriving by the system, whisper to his master words of discontent and disloyalty, unless for the purpose of gratifying some private revenge?—Or the military man, trained by profession to look upon discontent and disloyalty simply as foes to be put down by his strong hand?—Or the indigo-planter, come to India to enrich himself in the shortest possible time, placed by his very position in direct antagonism to the interests of the cultivator?—Or even the British merchant, secure at the Presidencies, under the shadow of the Supreme Court, and utterly careless about the state of distant provinces?¹ I look in vain, amongst all these classes, for one from which an enlightened, unbiassed opinion on the point can be expected. And therefore I feel bound to

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¹ The feeling at Bombay, respecting the far south of India, is described to me by an eye-witness as no deeper than it might be about the Feejee Islands.

PART III. give the more weight to those statements of the
The Present. Bengal Missionaries,—witnesses who, by their
 LECT. XX. position, are likely to have a better knowledge
 of the real state of feeling amongst the native
 population than any other,—that they “have
 reason to believe that a spirit of sullen discontent
 prevails even now among the rural population,
 from an impression that Government is
 indifferent to their sufferings” (Address to Lord
 Dalhousie, 1855); that—

“They view with alarm, as well as sorrow, the continuance of the evils which they have so long deplored, and the effects of which are seen in the demoralisation and the sufferings of the people; and that they believe that *measures of relief can with safety be delayed no longer*: as, from the information they have acquired, they fear that the discontent of the rural population is daily increasing, and that a bitter feeling of hatred towards their rulers is being engendered in their minds.”¹ (Address to Mr. Halliday, 1857.) “The people are kept,” says Mr. Wylie, “under a tyranny almost as odious, and as severe, as that which existed under the slavery system in the West Indies.”²

And here is a striking testimony to the same effect, from a quarter which the Indian official himself cannot cavil at. The late Major Cunningham, of the Engineers, wrote as follows in

¹ In a late penny pamphlet, called “The Indian Mutiny,” published by Seeleys, and written, evidently, by a person familiar with missionary enterprise in India, I find the following passages: “India has received untold blessings from British supremacy. . . . The march of improvement has been rapid. A sense of security and of justice has spread itself throughout the country. Excepting the Mahommedans and the robber-chiefs, who sigh for the licence of ancient reigns, the people are happy—that is, comparatively—and bless the day which has so quickly raised them from the sorrows to which they were subject” (p. 11). Did the writer not perceive that, in speaking thus, he made false witnesses of his Bengal brethren? Is it by prophesying smooth things that Christ’s kingdom can be advanced?

² Bengal as a Field of Missions, p. 300.

1851, towards the close of his History of the Sikhs;—

“Her rule” (England) “has hitherto mainly tended to the benefit of the trading community; men of family name find no place in the society of their masters, and no employment in the service of the State; and while the peasants have been freed from occasional ruinous exactions, and from more rare personal torture,¹ they are oppressed and impoverished by a well-meant but cumbrous and inefficient law, and by an excessive and partial taxation, which looks almost wholly to the land for the necessary revenue of a Government. *The husbandman is sullen and indifferent; the gentleman nurses his wrath in secrecy; kings idly chafe and intrigue; and all are ready to hope for anything from a change of masters.* The merchant alone sits partly happy in the reflection, that if he is not honoured with titles and office, the path to wealth has been made smooth, and its enjoyment rendered secure.”²

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Look now to the very events of the present year.

How do we hear it repeated, day after day, that this revolt is a purely military one,—that the people of India are attached to our rule! How is it, then, that we hear of burnings of villages, of attacks by villagers, of European fugitives avoiding villages in their escape? I take, from one single number of a daily newspaper, the correspondence of a single mail,—the second one of August, last at the time of my writing this. From Agra I read tidings of the despatch of a force against an insurgent village; which is stormed, and 400 men killed, no mercy being shown; the very women being subjected to the worst of outrages. In Bundelcund, according to Mrs. Mawe's touching account, European officers, in flight with sixty or eighty faithful sepoys, are

¹ The “Madras Torture Report,” and other documents before referred to, will have shown that this statement was at least premature in 1851.

² History of the Sikhs, pp. 32-930.

PART III. fired upon by matchlock-men. They find "the
The Present. people" "risen" on their way. They are pur-
 LECT. XX. sued by villagers with sticks and spears ; robbed
 by them ; mocked by them. The faithful native
 officer, Gunga Sing, in harbouring Lieutenant
 Browne at his village near Futtehpore, in the
 North-West, has to conceal him from his neigh-
 bours, as "the slightest intimation" that he was
 doing so "would have brought ruin" on both of
 them ; a night-attack on his house is planned as
 soon as the rumour gets abroad. In the extreme
 North, Murree is attacked by villagers, 100 or
 150 in number. Add to all this the extra-
 ordinary fact, mentioned by the *Friend of*
India, that the whole village revenue records
 of the North-West have been destroyed ; an
 event which, one would have thought, could
 never have taken place but through the hands
 or with the connivance of the people themselves.¹

Now, if there is one fact on which all observers
 agree, it is the absence of national feeling
 amongst the agricultural population of India,—
 their utter indifference to any change of masters
 which leaves them alone, unvexed by undue
 fiscal demands. And, if there is one fact more
 certain than all others in our administration of
 India, it is that the North-Western Provinces
 have been the most favoured of any ;—favoured
 by the rule of such Lieutenant-Governors as the
 Metcalfes and the Thomasons ; favoured by the
 maintenance of village institutions ; favoured by
 the most beneficial and gigantic public works—
 the Ganges canal, for instance. If, therefore,

¹ I am bound to say that a civilian relative entertains a
 contrary opinion.

such a population as this be so little affected to our rule as to render every Englishman's life insecure who passes through a village in time of mutiny, what must it be with any other? Fearful as this revolt has been, I do not think we can measure what it might have been, had it broken out anywhere else but where it has. And the revolt itself has hardly ceased to spread. Not to speak of Oude and Rohilcund, which are invaded as hostile countries,—though in the former the Hindoos seem to have fought on our behalf against the Mussulmen; of half-wild Bundelcund, which is acknowledged to be “disturbed;” of the Santhals again in revolt; of the forest tract of Chota Nagpore, peopled in great measure by aboriginal tribes, placed under martial law; of the Gond Raja lately executed with his son at Jubbulpore;—the old-settled province of Behar is admitted to be disaffected,—Assam has been unquiet. All this is no longer a mutiny about greased cartridges; no longer part of a Mussulman or Brahmin plot. No doubt the number of European forces now on their way will be sufficient to put down all resistance. But it is childish to deny the evidence of such facts as to the unpopularity of our rule.

To sum up, then, this long inquiry: The instinctive cry which the mutiny has raised,—the East India Company must be abolished,—is a just one. The present system of Indian government, of which that body forms yet the most prominent organ,—cumbrous, wasteful, inefficient, and dishonest as a piece of administrative machinery,—as a form of rule peculiarly ill adapted to fix the affections and loyalty of the native

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PART III. races of India,—has failed in practice in every
The Present. one of the requisites of good government.

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It has failed to give security to person or property throughout by far the greater portion of India ; sometimes by leaving the subject exposed to the open violence of brigands ; always by placing him at the mercy of oppressive and fraudulent officials.

The judicial system is dilatory, costly, and inefficient.

The revenue system—contrary to almost every sound principle of political economy—seems devised in its different branches so as to promote the largest possible amount of oppression, extortion, and immorality.

As a matter of fact, the population are in most parts of the country sinking alike in physical condition and in moral character.

Many of the above-mentioned evils are of British introduction ; others have been aggravated under British rule.

The good which has been done,—due in almost every instance to the special efforts of individuals, and generally thwarted at first,—has been for the most part extremely trifling, or partial and superficial.¹

The most magnificent public works, such as the canals of the North and its one metalled road, become wholly insignificant when compared with the vast number of works executed in native

¹ The famines of particular districts, which revenue oppression did not allow the cultivator to meet when they occurred, which public works could invariably have prevented, must have swept away more lives than the lauded “ humane ” measures of the suppression of suttee, infanticide, &c. can ever have preserved.

times,—many, in some districts,—most of which remain yet in a state of decay, though the cess payable for their maintenance, or the increased assessment due in respect of the surplus value which they are supposed to create, may still be exacted.

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A wholly new vice—drunkenness—has been introduced among the Hindoo population, is largely spreading, and is fostered by the exigencies of the public revenue.

In that part of India which lies most open to independent observation,—Bengal,—sullen discontent is declared to characterise the rural population.

In that part which, by universal consent, has enjoyed the largest share of Government favour, a military revolt has stalked, well-nigh unchecked, through the land, and, in many places, at least, the village population have risen upon European fugitives.

Such are the results of one century of the Company's rule in India. Is there any reason why we should wait over another?

How to amend these evils, I admit, is a question of far graver difficulty. To two things only I see my way clearly,—one, declaring India at once a Crown colony, and carrying on its whole government in the Queen's name; the other sending out a Royal Commission of Inquiry.

I must say, I cannot doubt that the former measure would be productive of the best effects. Mr. Sullivan, in his "Remarks on the Affairs of India," in 1852, concludes his list of suggested reforms by that of "making our sovereign in name, what she is in reality, Queen of Hindostan,

PART III. or of India, and constituting one of her sons her
The Present. hereditary viceroy." He points out that the
 LECT. XX. suggestion was made, more than forty years ago,
 in the *Edinburgh Review*, and that the late
 Colonel Sutherland was of opinion "that the
 assumption of this title by our Queen would be
 most grateful to the natives of India," and would
 induce them to transfer to her the feelings of
 attachment and reverence which they still bear
 towards the King of Delhi. Since he wrote, his
 words have been signally confirmed by the pre-
 sent mutiny, which has shown that the name
 of that pageant sovereign affords the only com-
 mon rallying-point against us. Let the Queen's
 name be once proclaimed directly, and Sikh,
 and Hindoo, and Mussulman will rally to it
 in a far different way than they can do to the
 mere rupees of the Company.¹ Not an officer in
 India need be displaced by the proclamation ;
 not a single change be made in the local machi-
 nery of government. But the making out of
 every record in duplicate would cease at once ;
 the services of one set of clerks, either at the

¹ Passages in Lutfullah's autobiography strongly confirm this view,—those, for instance, in which he speaks of his party being at Ascot ; "blessed with a near sight of our gracious Sovereign and her husband the Prince" (p. 416) ; of "the news of the birth of a prince to our gracious sovereign at Windsor having been telegraphed," and of his having been thereupon directed to carry a letter of congratulation to the Castle (p. 431). Indeed, every visit of a native prince to this country in search of justice, testifies to a willingness to bow to English sovereignty ; and nothing is more painful than to see the invariable fruitlessness of such visits, and the way in which they are checked, instead of being encouraged, by the India House and the Board of Control alike. So Lutfullah was told that his chief's (the Nawab of Surat) coming to England to obtain justice, was "an imprudent act" (p. 411).

India House or at Cannon-row, would be dispensed with,—of course under fair compensations ; the Directors, or such of them as might be required, would become a mere council to the President of the Board of Control ; England would be rid of a sham, India of a grievous burden ; both of a permanent source of misgovernment, and of consequent peril. And, let it be remembered, that, in so doing, we should be trying no new experiment. Ceylon is inhabited by a people of the same race as the continent of India, professing a religion which once largely prevailed over it. Ceylon is a Crown colony ; requires no elaborate system of double government. Though situated many degrees nearer the line, and, consequently, in point of climate, less propitious to the health of Europeans than many parts of India, it swarms, comparatively to the latter country, with Englishmen ; coffee-planters, cinnamon-planters, cocoa-nut planters, not to speak of merchants. Yet it has no expensive English civil service ; natives are freely admitted to almost any office ; and so little danger does their admission produce that, during the present crisis, Ceylon has been able, if I mistake not, to ship off *every European soldier* for India. And this wonderful difference of condition does not arise from any special benevolence or ability in its governors. I can recollect no Governor of Ceylon who could deserve to be lifted to the level of Lord William Bentinck ; no Governor-General of India who would deserve to be lowered to that of Lord Torrington. The difference lies in the system,—in the English straightforwardness, manliness, freedom of the Crown colony as compared with the

PART III. pseudo-Oriental complexity, childishness, des-
The Present. potism of the Company's Government.

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As respects the Royal Commission of Inquiry, the proclamation of the Queen's Government would at once render it devoid of peril. I can understand that, whilst the government is suffered to remain in the hands of the Company, the announcement of such a measure might snap, as it were, every spring of its machinery. But nothing could be more natural than that the change of government should be accompanied by such an inquiry, which, indeed, would form part of the change itself. The Queen's troops are now engaged in saving India; it is but reasonable that the Queen should claim direct authority over the country which her army has saved; and that the claiming of that authority should be inaugurated by a strict inquiry into the state of things which has rendered such a measure necessary.

The inquiries of such a Commission as I have mentioned can alone, as it seems to me, afford a basis for the fair determination of the question, which newspaper writers dispose of in such an off-hand manner, whether, and if at all, to what extent, and in what shape, India is to "pay the bill" of the late mutiny. To whatever extent those mutinies can be traced to English misgovernment and to English blunders, to that extent, as it seems to me, it is *not just* that India—a despotically ruled country, without the trace of a representative government for its native millions, unable to approach the British Parliament otherwise than by petition, and which has seen those petitions, when most urgent for inquiry, so con-

temptuously set aside, that, at the last renewal of the charter, it was not even deemed worth while to go into evidence as to the condition of the country,—should bear the expense of those mutinies. And, were it ever so just that India should bear that expense, it may yet be highly *inexpedient* that it should do so ; if the condition of its people be truly such, as is alleged by many, that they can bear no further burdens ; if the attachment of the masses to our rule be so feeble, that any additional burden would alienate them from us altogether ; if, in the incidence of any such burden, we run the risk of making foes of the very classes which have most stood by us. It is not by a few sharp phrases as to the propensity of Easterns to hoard, or the wealth of Calcutta merchants, that such questions as these can be disposed of. The tendency to hoard is of itself evidence not of wealth, but of poverty in a population ; not of prosperity in a country, but of insecurity ; evidence of a state of things in which money is rare, and therefore precious—its possession dangerous, and therefore to be concealed. Poor Russia hoards much more than the wealthier lands of the west ; poorer Ireland than richer England. The beggar is the man who stows away the golden guineas in an old stocking, not the capitalist whose pen-stroke is worth millions. There is nothing, therefore, more childish than to suppose that, because our Indian fellow-subjects dare not yet show or make use of whatever wealth they have got, therefore they have a great deal of it, which it is easy to get from them.

For, admit even that there is in India a vast quantity of hoarded coin,—the only explana-

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PART III. tion can be, that it is *fear* which causes its disappearance. Will extra taxation dissipate that
The Present. fear? Will not the owner cling to his rupees
 LECT. XX. the more, the more you seek to wrest them from him? Are you prepared to resort to the stock means of an Eastern tyrant, the bastinado or worse, to extract them? Do you believe that such means ever did extract them in any quantity? that the strange point of honour which grows up in such cases, of not yielding to torture itself, does not countervail the money-yielding powers of that torture? Do you believe that torture, even in its mildest form, is not the clumsiest, most expensive of all processes for the recovery of money? Surely the remedy against the *fear* of showing or parting with money is not to inspire *more* fear. The case is that of the old fable of the Wind and the Sun. The more the wind blows, the tighter the man folds his cloak around him; but when the sun shines hot upon him, he casts it aside of his own accord. If there is so much capital in India, *tempt* it to come forth. Show it secure investments. Make it worth no one's while to hoard, worth every one's while to lay money out. It may surely well be, that by undertaking for the present the burden of the war expenses, and setting ourselves resolutely to work for the next few years to develop the resources of India, that country might then pay us back a hundredfold the advance now made; though, in the present state of the country, the attempt to extract the money from it would cost more than the money's worth.¹

¹ Of course, when such a commission is appointed, it must

Of minor measures I say nothing. I cannot, however, forbear pointing that the recognition, development, or reconstitution of village communities everywhere seems the very best mode of easing the whole revenue system. It must diminish greatly the expense of collection; it will certainly sweep away a vast amount of fraud and oppression; it will lay the foundation at least of an actual increase of revenue. Thus the ryots of Krishnagur, in asking for it, declare that they "agree to pay double the rent" the Company are now drawing from the zemindars.¹ Nay, so infinite are the consequences of one single thoroughly good measure, that there seems reason to believe that the restoration of the village communities will produce in the most lawless portions of India that security to person and property which all mere police acts have hitherto utterly failed to ensure. Capt. Reynolds, who had been employed for twenty-four years in the Nizam's country, or in the

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have the very best men upon it. And these should be secured against the treatment inflicted on the Crimean Commission, by receiving *beforehand* some especial mark of confidence,—say, a peerage for the Head Commissioner at least, &c.—with a distinct intimation as to future rewards in the shape of life pensions or otherwise. The work of reconstructing the Indian Government should be done once for all; and England will not be niggardly in recognising the services of those who devote themselves manfully to the task. Its execution in India will, moreover, be greatly facilitated by giving rank beforehand to the Commissioners. I will only add, that, if Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch could be induced to accept the foremost places in it, each with a peerage, and a pension in prospect, I do not believe there are twenty men in England who would deem them to have received more than their due, or who would not wait with perfect confidence for the result of their labours.

¹ Mission Conference, p. 98.

PART III. Saugur and Nerbudda territories, latterly as the
The Present. Superintendent of the suppression of Thuggee
LECT. XX. and gang-murder "which prevailed in the whole
of the Bombay and Madras presidencies (!)," stated before the Cotton Committee of 1848 that "where that municipal system continues to exist," he "never found any difficulty" in tracking a criminal. He has traced him "from village to village, to a distance of 300 miles, and eventually arrested him," because, as soon as he "carried the track within the lands of any particular village," the village watchman, under fear of his rights being sequestrated, "always made a point of either finding the criminal, or carrying the *magh*, or blood-spot, into the next village." Like every other Englishman who has really investigated the facts, Captain Reynolds deems the village community "the best system in force in the world."¹ The unanimity of testimony on this point, on the part of the most able servants of the Company, is singular. "Of all the consequences of our errors," said Mr. Holt Mackenzie, "I would attach most importance to their effects on the village associations, which form the great bond of society throughout so large a part of India, but which have been greatly misunderstood and disturbed. These institutions seem to afford one of the most important of all the instruments we could use to insure the good government of the country and the comfort of individuals. Without them, or some substitute similarly resting on popular principle, we must, I fear, have miserable and disunited people,

¹ Minutes of Evidence, queries 4,801, 4,750.

whom it is scarcely possible to govern otherwise than as the slaves of our native servants." ¹

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But now one thing remains to be said. Though I advocate without scruple the abolition of the Company's government, I can conceive of something worse than that government itself. A Bengal missionary says of the East India Company, that "it never *intentionally* grinds down its subjects by grievous exactions." Painful as that word "*intentionally*" is, when we recollect some of the facts which it implies, still the circumstances of the day show us that worse depths of evil are possible. Whilst repeating from day to day that the insurrection is a mere military revolt, the *Times* openly declares that India is to bear the sole cost of it; declares that now is not the time to talk about "extortion;" chuckles almost at the idea of fleecing those trading classes who have been, with the native princes, our sole efficient allies, without whose aid in the Commissariat department we could not have carried on the campaign. And the self-styled Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, petitioning the Queen, ask for nothing but "a policy of such vigorous repression and punishment as shall convince the native races of India, *who can be influenced effectually by power and fear alone*, of the hopelessness of insurrection against British rule."

Better by far that even the East India Company should receive a new lease of life, than that our sway in India should be stamped with a

¹ Minute of the Calcutta Finance Committee, 1st October, 1830; quoted in the "Evidences relative to the Efficiency of Native Agency," p. 27.

PART III. brute terrorism like this. Many of the "Christian
The Present. inhabitants" of Calcutta already hardly bear the
LECT. XX. best of characters. Reckless speculations,—dis-
creditable bankruptcies,—have given the mer-
cantile community of that city (with some noble
exceptions) an ill name ere this. Such arrogance
towards their native fellow-traders,—probably
on an average at least as reputable as them-
selves,—would at other times be simply ludi-
crous. It is only the evil tempers at home which
can make it dangerous,—which may make it
fatal.

LECTURE XXI.

THE NATIONAL QUESTION.

The First Question suggested by the Outbreak—Is India to be given up or reconquered?—English Responsibilities for India—Responsibility of Parliament, Government, the Opposition—Responsibility of the English People—The Revolt indicates personal Hatred to Englishmen—This does not proceed from the “Untameable Savagery” of the Natives—Misconduct of Englishmen in India towards the Natives—Testimonies from Madras, Bombay, Bengal—Purveyance—Personal Vices—English Sins explain Indian Heathenism—Heathenism of English Officers and Soldiers—Heathen Cries for Vengeance at Home—Danger of such a Course—Carthage and Spain.

DEEPER than all questions of military discipline, of formal religion, of race, of policy, which the late revolt has suggested, lie its national lessons, —its personal lessons. What are its bearings on England,—on every individual Englishman?

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Amidst the first stupor of the dreadful news of last summer, we all remember how two voices soon found their way. One said—“This is too fearful. We cannot have any business in a country where such things can occur. If we have given provocation for the outrages which have been perpetrated, let us make amends by withdrawing. If they have occurred unprovoked,—if the natives of India be really the pitiless wild beasts, and worse than wild beasts, which they

PART III. seem to be,—India is all the less a fit place for
The Present. our women and our little ones. It cannot be
 LECT. XXI. worth while for the struggling masses of England
 to waste their blood and their money to retain
 it. Let us do our best to save those of our
 countrymen who are still there, and then—cut it
 adrift for ever.” More simply, poor people told
 of sepy atrocities would ask : “ But is it not
 their country ? ”

But that voice was soon drowned in a louder, stronger voice : “ We cannot let innocent blood cry to us unavenged from the ground. We cannot be worsted in a conflict with mere savagery. We may not leave India to the mercies of the murderers of Cawnpore and Delhi. Eternal justice demands that we reconquer it, were it only for its own sake.”

Again here, there is truth even on the former side. If, indeed, our sway in India were fated to have no other effect than that of making the natives of that country, or only leaving them, such as some of them have proved themselves to be, it would be true that we can have no business there. If we could only hold by force that which we took by force, we should be robbers there, like our forefathers, sure to be some day expelled by stronger robbers.

But to say so is to despair of our country ; to despair of mankind ; to despair of God. Not without God, surely, has the fabric of that marvellous empire been upreared,—the vastest, strangest ever possessed by a small people at the other end of the earth. Not without God has this marvellous struggle of the present year been maintained, by a scattered handful of

Europeans, as few amidst the surging masses of an alien race as men shipwrecked on the face of a vast ocean. Yet not without God, also, have we been stricken in our dearest affections and in our bosom sins,—in our domestic relations and in our national pride. Tremendous must have been the faults which needed so tremendous a chastisement.

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England cannot shake off her responsibilities for India. She cannot make the East India Company the whipping-boy for her sin. Her Parliament is responsible for it. Though the Company's misgovernment had been ten times worse than it has been, the British Parliament has indorsed it from time to time, on every renewal of the charter. Nor has it done so without warning. It is now exactly twenty years since India's best governor,—a man who could have had no personal feelings against the Company, since he had been *their* candidate for the Governor-Generalship when the Board of Control forced upon India the weak and inefficient Lord Amherst,—said, in the face of a House of Commons' Committee, that in the hands of its then governors our administration of India, "in *all* its branches,—revenue, judicial, and police,—had been a failure." It is before a House of Commons' Committee that Mr. Marriott and Mr. Giberne bore witness, nine years ago, of the growing pauperization of Western India: Mr. Petrie and others, of the absolute pauperism of Southern India. It is the British Parliament which, for the last five years, the Bengal missionaries, the Christians of Bengal, the natives of the three Presidencies, have been vainly

PART III. besieging with their petitions for inquiry, for
The Present. redress of notorious evils. And what has been
 LECT. XXI. the result? That an Indian debate has been at
 { all times certain to thin the benches of the
 House of Commons; that the most frightful
 oppression of our days,—the Sattara case,—has
 been made a laughing-stock by our legislators;
 that the doors of the House have literally been
 closed on its discussion; that, at the last renewal
 of the charter, the Parliamentary inquiry was
 brought to an end before evidence was taken on
 the social condition of the people. Wilfully
 deaf, wilfully blind,—will the blood of our mur-
 dered countrywomen unseal our eyes, unstop our
 ears at last?—or will it only clot them into a
 more deathlike insensibility?

The English Government is responsible. Presidents of the Board of Control have boasted that they were the Governors of India in the last resort. They have thrust their incompetent nominees into the Governor-Generalship. They have actually forced India into the most disastrous of all its wars.¹ The English Opposition

¹ I have endeavoured carefully to abstain from personal accusations arising out of the late mutinies. But the imbecile pooh-poohing of the danger at the first by the English Ministry, has been one primary cause of its spread. They may boast as they please of their energy now, but they cannot wipe from our memories the fact, that, whilst our countrymen were being butchered in India, they were sending troops to their aid in sailing-vessels round the Cape. These things are bitterly felt in India. "Troops coming round the Cape afford no near prospect of release," as one sadly wrote from Agra, on the 14th September last. Nor can we forget that only a few days before the news of the outbreak burst on us like a thunderclap, Lord Palmerston was opposing in the House of Commons, on grounds most disgraceful to England as a nation, a plan which, whether feasible or not, would, if executed, have carried succour and

is responsible. Except Lord Ellenborough, who properly belongs to no party on Indian questions, and Sir John Pakington, who took up the case of the Indian salt monopoly, not so much on behalf of the suffering ryots, as of the Cheshire salt manufacturers, I know of no Opposition statesman who has endeavoured to make up for the shortcomings of the party in power, in respect to India. The present Opposition leader in the House of Commons received, years ago, the fullest information as to the Sattara injustice. He recollected it within the present year, to point a statesman-like speech about Indian misgovernment.

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The English people are responsible. How many of us have ever looked upon India except as a land in which a certain number of their countrymen—Scotchmen more especially—found a provision for life, and from which they returned with bad livers and good retiring allowances? ¹ Let us be honest, and we shall admit that Indian misgovernment is English misgovernment. All classes have shared in it. The aristocratic Governor-General, squaring the rights of native sovereigns to an arbitrary rule of annexation-policy—the middle classes, who have supplied the bulk of Indian civilians and military men—

comfort long ere this to our struggling countrymen,—the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez.

¹ It should not be forgotten that the more rapid communications between India and Europe, the more easy furlough regulations, &c. of late years—invaluable as drawing the Anglo-Indian closer to the mother-country—have tended at the same time to weaken his ties with the land of his sojourn, to make him more and more a mere bird of passage. This is a tendency which will need all possible vigilance, self-scrutiny, and conscientiousness henceforth to counteract.

PART III. the poor, who in the ranks of the European
The Present. troops have given the natives an example of
 LECT. XXI. drunkenness and reckless misconduct—all are
 involved in the result. Yet it is no doubt the middle classes,—those middle classes who would fain believe themselves to be the “heart of oak” of English greatness—who must bear the larger share of the responsibility. The Indian Government, as compared with that of England, has been emphatically and admittedly a middle class Government; often a stepping-stone to aristocratic rank and rule at home. More peers’ robes have been won in India than carried thither. And accordingly its faults have been in great measure middle-class faults; the grasping after wealth, the hasting to be rich, the narrowness of view,—aye, and not a little of the arrogance of the purse, the vulgar assumption of superiority.

Let us make sure that we cannot get rid of these faults, or of their consequent evils, by a mere change in the form of government. Had every Englishman in India done his duty, the Company would have done theirs. Abolish the Company, and if Englishmen go yet out to India with no firmer resolution, no greater ability to do their duty than has been the case with them hitherto, the Queen’s name will not shield them,—aye, nor their wives nor their little ones, from the consequences. For, indeed, looking to the present mutiny, how can we account for the fact that the class of all others which has been in closest contact with Englishmen,¹ have risen

¹ I do not say with Englishwomen. Many domestic servants have proved most faithful; women-servants almost invariably so. Many and many a native woman has been

upon them, and murdered men, women, and children? Surely the massacres of the present year have occurred on too many points, have extended too far in their reach, not to make us feel that, not Englishmen as officers of a Government, or as civilians, or as missionaries, or as soldiers, but Englishmen as such, are objects of hatred to a large portion of the native population.

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This, if we are frank enough to admit it—and I must say, at once, that it has been admitted to me over and over again, from experience derived in the most opposite quarters of India, by every man really conversant with native feeling—is a sad fact; sadder when we recollect the devotion of native soldiers, in years gone by, to their English officers; saddest of all when we recollect that outrages such as those of the present year have never before been perpetrated in India under our rule—nay, nor under any other. For it is not the actual character of the atrocities perpetrated which is peculiar. These have been paralleled many and many a time before: within the last century in Persian, Afghan, Mahratta invasions; within the present, in Pindarree raids. What is unparalleled, so far as I can recollect, either in Hindoo or Mussulman history, is that in a time of profound peace such an outbreak should have occurred, and should have taken almost everywhere such a fearful course, uniting the most opposite elements in the commission of the same crimes; that we should find involved in them

literally cut to pieces in defending the white children entrusted to her.

PART III. the very classes which have hitherto been most
The Present. free from such a reproach.¹ For respect to
 LECT. XXI. women, as I have said, is especially character-
 istic in India of the higher caste, of the nobler
 race. The deeper we look into this dread sub-
 ject, the more, I fear, we shall find that the
 unheard-of treacheries of Delhi and Cawnpore
 are the explosion of a fearful mine of pent-up
 hatred.

It is easy to say—self-love will always prompt
 us to say—newspapers, that live by making
 themselves the mirrors of our self-love, will
 never tire of repeating—that this hatred, if it
 exists, is simply the result of the untameable
 ferocity and depravity of the Indian races.
 Mill's opinion on the subject, who never was in
 India, will be largely quoted. Now the slightest
 reflection will show, that we could not possibly
 have held possession of India for a century
 by means of an army of untameably ferocious

¹ The following passages from Menu surely express the
 true spirit of high-caste Hindooism :—

“ Let no man, engaged in combat, smite his foe with
 concealed weapons ; nor with arrows mischievously barbed ;
 nor with poisoned arrows ; nor with darts blazing with fire.

“ Nor let him strike his enemy alighted on the ground ;
 nor an effeminate man ; nor one who sues for life with closed
 palms ; nor one whose hair is loose ; nor one who sits down ;
 nor one who says, ‘ I am thy captive.’

“ Nor one who sleeps ; nor one who has lost his coat of
 mail ; nor one who is naked ; nor one who is disarmed ; nor
 one who is a spectator but not a combatant ; nor one who is
 fighting with another man.

“ Calling to mind the duty of honourable men, let him
 never slay one who has broken his weapon ; nor one who is
 afflicted ; nor one who has been grievously wounded ; nor
 one who is terrified ; nor one who turns his back.”—*Sir*
Wm. Jones's Works, Vol. III. pp. 253-4.

Has the Brahmin prince of Bithoor improved upon these
 precepts by his English education ?

savages, officered by a handful of Europeans, and with a few European regiments scattered amongst them. The testimony of all the most acute and ablest observers hitherto has given them an exactly opposite character. Warren Hastings, as I have before observed, speaks of the Hindoos—as distinct, indeed, from the Musulmen—as being “as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion as any people on the face of the earth; . . . faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority.” Sir John Malcolm, speaking of that particular race which filled our Bengal army—the men of Benares, Oude, and the Dooab, but more especially of the Rajpoots—says, that “they are brave, generous, and humane; and their truth is as remarkable as their courage.” Sir Thomas Munro notes amongst the Hindoos, “above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect, and delicacy.”¹ I have quoted elsewhere Mr. Elphinstone’s eulogy on the very population from which our Bengal army has been recruited, as affording “the best specimen of the Hindoo character, retaining its peculiarities while divested of many of its defects.” And Sir Charles Napier said of the Indian army itself, “If these sepoy were not the best men in the world, they would give their commander much trouble.”² He could “never think of them without respect and admiration.”³ Even with

¹ The above passages are quoted from Major-General Vans Kennedy’s pamphlet on “The Moral Character of the Hindoos,” reprinted from the third volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay; London, 1839.

² Life, Vol. III. p. 73.

³ Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 312.

PART III. the red blood of English women and children
The Present. yet fresh upon Indian soil, it is impossible to
 LECT. XXI. overlook such testimonies, given by men of the
 most opposite character, spreading, we may say, over the whole period of British rule in India—beginning with Warren Hastings and ending with Charles Napier. The security hitherto of English women and children in India has been proverbial. It is self-questioning, self-scrutiny, as a nation, to which such facts should lead us, when weighed against fearful facts to the contrary. If the native of India—of Northern India—is so different in 1857 from what the most experienced judges have represented him to be, how has he become such?

I fear,—I greatly fear,—that it is our own conduct as Englishmen, which has been the main cause of the hatred towards us which the character of this revolt seems to me to indicate; that burning hatred which was shown by those men of Delhi who, spared at first, wilfully goaded our soldiers to destroy them, by boasting of the share which they had had in the murder of Europeans. I do not think it possible to take up any book relating the personal experience of an Englishman or Englishwoman in India, and not written for the sake of getting up a case in favour of the Government, and to rise from its perusal without the feeling that the behaviour of our countrymen in India generally must be such as to draw upon them the hatred of the natives. Sometimes this feeling is the result of the evident absence of all moral principle in the writer. More often, it is directly impressed upon us by his narrative. It matters little what is his

calling ; Bishop Heber, in his Journal ; the Rev. PART III.
 Mr. Acland, in his "Manners and Customs of *The Present*
 India;" Colonel Sleeman, from Central India ; LECT. XXI
 Captain Hervey, from the South,—women, even,
 like Mrs. Colin Mackenzie,—all relate similar
 tales of brutality on the part of Englishmen to-
 wards natives, even in the restraining presence
 of their own countrymen. Mr. Acland will tell
 of deliberate insolence towards a raja in Cuttack,
 and how Englishmen, hunting on his land, and
 making use of his coolies and elephants, could
 not even wait for the "beastly nigger" to hunt
 with them. Captain Hervey, who, so late as 1850,
 speaks of "the harsh measures generally adopted
 by *all* classes of Europeans" towards the natives,
 asks, "Where is the Englishman who would
 tamely submit to be dealt with as the natives
 of India often are? The very brutes that perish
 are not so treated;" declares that "our good
 folks in England know not of the goings on in
 India. *To maltreat a native is considered a meri-*
torious act;¹ and the younger branches of the
 service think it very fine to curse and swear at
 them, kick and buffet them." A relative of
 mine wrote to me from India only the other
 day, that he had known a European officer who
 kept an orderly for the sole purpose of thrash-
 ing his native servants; that another was recently
 tried for beating his orderly because he did not
 thrash his servants hard enough. Another rela-
 tive of mine, an officer in a Bombay regiment,
 wrote lately, in terms of just disgust, at the con-
 duct of the young officers of his corps towards

¹ "Ten Years in India," Vol. II. pp. 35-36. Captain Hervey reverts again and again to this subject.

PART III. their native servants ; maltreating them, leaving
The Present. their wages unpaid for a twelvemonth ; and yet
LECT. XXI. some of these men were so faithful, that they
 would pawn their own clothes to procure grain
 for their masters' horses.¹

"I have been saying for years past," says an Englishman recently returned to Southern India, "that, if a man who left India thirty years ago, were now to revisit it, he would scarcely credit the change he would universally witness in the treatment of the natives, high and low. The English were not then absolute masters everywhere. Now they are. Restraint is cast away, and as one generation of functionaries succeeds another every twenty-five years, those in authority set to those coming after them the example of supercilious arrogance, and contempt of the people, which they have been following from the beginning of their career. The past of the natives, therefore, has not a shadow of existence in the minds of their rulers, nor has their future in their own eyes a ray of hope, inasmuch as those rulers regard their present abject degradation as their normal condition, and feel neither pity nor compunction in perpetrating it. The universal phrase in private is, 'They are unfit for, or are unworthy of anything better.'"

Sir Charles Napier, in Scinde, reckons, as one of the things which young officers think they must do to be gentlemanly,—“that they should be insolent to black servants.”² “Amongst the civilians,” he said, “with many exceptions, however, there is an aping of greatness, leaving out that which marks the really high-born gentle-

¹ I shall be told that there are severe regulations as to the misconduct of officers ; that officers are subject to fines for beating their servants ; that such fines have been claimed and enforced. I am perfectly aware of it ; and I will add that the very existence of such regulations, the very occurrence of such proceedings, proves also the reality of the evils which they are meant to repress. The cases are few in which complaint will be made ; and it will be years and years before the existence of wholesome rules on such matters can be any guarantee of their enforcement.

² *Life*, Vol. III. p. 259.

man and lady—kindness and politeness to those below them.”¹ If he knew “anything of good manners, nothing could be worse than those of India towards natives of all ranks—a vulgar *bahaudering*. . . . I speak of the manners of the military of both armies.”² Partial as he was to military men, he refused officers a passage in his merchant-steamers on the Indus, knowing that “they would go on board, occupy all the room, treat his rich merchants and supercargoes with insolence, and very probably drink, and thrash the people.”³ Such deeds were done as made him wonder that we held India a year.⁴ The autobiography of Lutfullah enables us, to some extent, to see from below something of what Sir Charles thus shows us from above. Besides individual instances of English arrogance or brutality, very pungent is his remark on his way to Europe, that “the more you proceed on toward England, the more you find the English people endowed with politeness and courtesy.”⁵ Very keen, too, the satire of his reply to Prince Albert, at the Society of Arts, as to what his party admired most in England, that “the civility of the people of high rank and station was the thing most admirable to us;”⁶—which the Prince seems to have taken as a mere pointless compliment to himself.

Is the case better in Bengal? Missionaries from Eastern Bengal report that the natives said respecting themselves, “We were evidently good men who had come to promote their wel-

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¹ Life, Vol. III. pp. 317-8.

³ Ibid. p. 473.

⁵ Lutfullah, p. 398.

² Life, Vol. III. pp. 408-9.

⁴ Ibid. p. 290.

⁶ Lutfullah, p. 418.

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fare ; in proof of which they added, that they saw a great difference between our kind and friendly behaviour towards them, and the conduct of other Europeans, who are often apt to treat them harshly and contemptuously ;”¹ and others declare that the evils of the zemindaree system are, in English landowners’ hands, “aggravated, rather than diminished. If the planter enjoys the friendship of the civil servants,” (what a testimony to the efficiency of our administration !) “he can oppress, imprison, and ill-treat the ryots with impunity. By some planters’ orders, villages have been plundered and burned, and individuals killed.”² They say that “many of the Europeans of this country look upon the natives with disdain, and call them ‘niggers,’ not remembering that they are living upon these very ‘niggers.’” “I have sometimes heard natives say,” continues the writer (a Church Missionary from Krishnagur), “*they did not wish to go to that heaven in which such and such a planter would be.*”³

¹ Bengal as a Field of Missions, p. 126.

² Mission Conference, p. 87.

³ Ibid. p. 93. Among the influences which I believe have prominently contributed, of late years, to demoralise English feeling towards India, has been the wide-spread success of those curious experiments in moral legerdemain, Lord Macaulay’s biographical sketches of Clive and Warren Hastings. The novelty of these consists, in combining condemnation of the crime with acquittal of the criminal ; so that after a whole artillery of moral reprobation has been discharged at him, he comes out (as in a great gun-trick), unharmed and a hero. So cleverly was the device adapted to the shallow morality of our day, that the forger and extortioner have really come to be regarded as canonised British worthies. Our public men repeat their names as those of the two heroes of Anglo-Indian history ; the easy rout of Plassey is the only Anglo-Indian victory which they

Take one evil only ; that which our ancestors PART III.
 called purveyance, and which helped to cost an *The Present.*
 English king his head. Wretched want of LECT. XXI.
 means of communication in India renders need-
 ful the services of hosts of porters or coolies, to
 carry baggage on their heads. Now, it is evi-
 dently no uncommon practice, in perfectly peace-
 ful times, for officers on the march to impress
 these men by force. Captain Hervey gives an
 instance to this effect, where a colonel "gave
 orders to bring together as many coolies as could
 be procured, and had them placed in durance
 vile. . . . He also seized one of the principal men,
 and confined him likewise, until the number
 wanted were produced by the others, threatening
 them with similar treatment if they did not
 immediately exert themselves." Yet he adds,
 almost immediately,—“There never is any real
 difficulty in obtaining coolies ; *the only thing to*
be observed is to give the poor fellows their hire ;
 they will then willingly go three or four marches
 with their employer. . . . The hire, too, is re-
 markably cheap.”¹ He says elsewhere of the
 carters, that, “as soon as they hear of troops
 being about to move, they hurry on from their
 dwellings, driving their carts and cattle to some
 distant village, taking the former to pieces, hiding
 one wheel here and another there, and sending

ever seem to recollect. Yet,—apart from all questions of
 morality,—in what was either of these men superior to Lord
 Wellesley, to Lord Hastings, to Lord William Bentinck, as
 administrators? What was Clive's generalship to Ochter-
 lony's? What was Plassey beside those three immortal
 actions of a single war, Kirkee, Seetabuldee, and Korigaon?
 not to mention Assaye or Laswarree? still less the more
 recent fields of Meeanee and Hyderabad?

¹ Ten Years in India, Vol. II. pp. 32-3.

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the latter to graze among the hills, and themselves taking to the plough, or other occupation, to avoid detection, or even the possibility of their being pressed into the service. These poor fellows have a particular aversion to being employed by European troops, because the soldiers maltreat them, and will not sometimes pay them their hire—to say nothing of overloading their bandies (carts) to such a degree as to render it very hard work for the bullocks to drag them.”¹

Nor must it be supposed that this crying evil is confined to Madras, “the benighted Presidency,” alone. In the *Friend of India* for 1855, several letters will be found complaining of it in Bengal. It is “too true,” they say, “that natives are put to great straits, owing to their conveyances being forcibly seized,”—it is too true that exemptions from such seizure are purchased by bribes, so that the poorest fare worst ; it is too true that coolies are impressed, “forced to work, but *never* paid.”² Were they certain of their hire, as the *Friend's* correspondents very simply say, they “would not require impressment.” The enormity of this oppression can only be realized when one bears in mind the absence of roads worthy of the name, which necessarily renders the labour more harassing, and the unwieldy Indian pomp, which adds to both the labour and the need for it. Let the reader turn to the figure of the travelling requirements of a Governor-General, and then imagine the curse of such a progress through the country, when it commonly happens that men are “forced to work, but never paid.”

¹ Ten Years' in India, Vol. II. p. 310.

² See, for instance, the number for June 7, 1855.

Let it be remembered that the testimonies I have quoted, coming from all parts of India, are all, with one trifling exception, those of our own countrymen. Suppose native evidence could be let in, and who can believe that it would not tell a far darker tale yet?¹

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But, besides the question of the behaviour of Englishmen in India towards the natives, there is also that of their personal conduct. I need quote but one testimony on the subject,—Capt. Hervey's:—

"I have often heard the natives make remarks in regard to our religion: 'You call yourselves Christians,' they say, 'you profess temperance, soberness, and chastity; you preach against idolatry; do you show by your lives that you act up to these professions? Where is your temperance? you are always drinking! Where is your soberness? you are always getting drunk! Where is your chastity? Who do you worship? Not God, surely. Do you practise charity? No! for you are always quarrelling amongst yourselves, finding fault with and scandalising your neighbours! Your belly is your god; vanity and self-indulgence are your

¹ Mr. Raikes, a civilian of the North-Western Provinces, writes in glowing terms of late Indian reforms. Yet we find even him, in unguarded moments, speaking of "England's remaining combat" in India, as being "not only with the cunning, the ignorance, the superstition of her Eastern children, but with the *pride, the sloth, the selfishness* of her own sons." (Notes, p. 77.) This is a weighty avowal from such a quarter.

Take another sample from the same work, of the amount of mischief which evidently can be perpetrated in India, by European officers, out of sheer blundering. "'I have tried everything,' said a young magistrate to William Fraser, the late lamented Commissioner of Delhi; 'I have imprisoned, fined, and taken security from the people of—pergunneh, but I can't keep them quiet.' 'Did you ever try,' asked Fraser, 'to let them alone?'"—(P. 121.) Imagine the state of things, in which a "young magistrate" can "imprison, fine, and take security," by way of experiment! Truly does Mr. Raikes say, elsewhere: "Power, a shade, a pretence, a slavery in England, is a reality here."—(P. 269.)

PART III. worship; and your religion is nothing. We would rather
The Present. be as we are, than change to a religion, the professors of
 LECT. XXI. which give us such poor specimens of their sincerity.' Such,
 and similar opinions, have I frequently heard from respectable native individuals. *And this is the general opinion of the Indian community, and this is the reason why our missionaries find it so difficult to make converts to the true faith.* . . . The natives have so little encouragement to become converts, that all the labours of the Gospel are of no avail. If it should so happen that any natives are converted, they are so to answer their own purposes, and become worse than they were before. Can there be a greater set of rascals, drunkards, thieves and reprobates, than the generality of native Christians? . . . They are looked upon by their fellow-countrymen as the most degraded of all castes. The worst characters in our regiments are Christians! And it is no uncommon thing to have some such remark as the following made: 'He is a great blackguard, he is a *pariah Christian*!' A servant presents himself for employment, and is asked what caste he is. The reply is, 'I master's caste, I Christian, sar.' He is not taken, because all Christians, with but few exceptions, are looked upon as great vagabonds."¹

Against part of this statement we may gladly set that of the Calcutta missionaries, at their Conference in 1855, as to the "great improvement that has taken place in Bengal, in the cha-

¹ "Ten Years in India," Vol. I. pp. 104-5. Exactly opposite testimony is often given by the missionaries as to the character of the native converts. Which is to be believed? Both, within the sphere of their respective experience. The missionary sees the best specimens of the native convert, the officer the worst. And best or worst those specimens must be. The social penalties of conversion are so tremendous,—involving, as it does, not only loss of rank, but complete estrangement from family and friends,—that none can brave them, except those who either have nothing to lose, or for truth's sake are prepared to lose all.

It is pleasing to have to state, that, during the present mutiny, whilst "all the influence of public officers and their agents at Benares, could not succeed in procuring supplies for the troops and others from the country round, a missionary, well-known to the people, was able to do what they failed in doing."—See "Lord Ellenborough's Blunder respecting the Cause of the Mutiny," p. 11.

racter and conduct of European society ;" so that "not only have residents in this country become better, but a large number of better men have arrived in the country."¹ Yet we also find them complaining of "the small number of really good men in influential positions."² And they seem absolutely to echo Captain Hervey's words, when they say,—“The ryots generally believe that the Christian religion consists in having no caste, *i. e.* no self-respect, in eating beef and drinking freely, and in trampling upon the social, political, and religious rights of the ‘niggers.’”³

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Why do I state these things ? To hold Anglo-Indians up to reproach ? I am an Anglo-Indian by birth myself ; the son, nephew, cousin of Company's officers, military or civil. I number still, in the Direction, one old friend of my father. I can have nothing but personal pain in pointing out the sins of the class. If I do so, it is because Anglo-Indians are Englishmen, and in nowise inferior to their countrymen ; because Anglo-Indian sins are English sins, and we must root them out from our own bosoms before we can safely reproach others with them. I do so because it seems to me that those personal English sins—the pride of race, the insolence of office, the love of gold—which come out, perhaps, in a more fearful and naked form in India, afford the best explanation of all failures to implant Christianity, of all misgovernment, of all rebellion ; they are the tree which bears such evil fruits. It is idle to missionarise in India, whilst we misgo-

¹ Mission Conference, p. 5.

² *Ibid.* p. 90.

³ *Ibid.* p. 93.

PART III. vern it.¹ It is idle to dream of governing it well
The Present. whilst we despise and hate its people.

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This is the reason why—strangely, no doubt, to some—I ranked the merely religious question as a superficial one, as respects the lessons of the late mutiny. India will never receive Christian doctrine from England until she receives Christian justice and Christian love. I look to the statistics of missions in Bengal, and I find that in 1853, out of a population of more than forty-five millions, there were in all 14,564 Christian converts, or less than one in 3,000, after nearly a century of English rule. Can I be surprised, when I find the state of the people? A prey to gang-robbers, a prey to police-torturers, a prey to zemindars, a prey to indigo-plauters, a prey to so-called officers of justice; their old cities running to ruin, their old roads impassable, their old tanks breeding

¹ I am far, however, from undervaluing even the *social* benefits of missionary labours. In a paper, by the Rev. J. C. Page, read to the Calcutta Missionary Conference of 1855, on the Zemindary System and Christianity, there is a most cheering, admirable passage on the effect of missionary labours in creating a belief in justice, resistance to exaction, intolerance of all wrong (see pp. 108-10). I most certainly believe that, apart from all questions of dogma, the Protestant missionary in India is in most cases a minister of truth, order, justice, and freedom. But why is not every Englishman such a minister? Why does the court of the rich English magistrate create perjury, whilst the poor English missionary can check it?

On the other hand, the adverse influence which our misgovernment has upon the spread of missions is not to be denied. "The natives hold us," says a missionary, "as Europeans, to blame for all that they dislike in the administration of Government. 'Talk of your good-will,' said a talookdar the other day, 'did not your countrymen pass the resumption laws, and take away the lands that our pious ancestors had consecrated to religious purposes?'"—*Mission Conference*, p. 40.

pestilence, their old institutions forcibly broken up, their old educational system annihilated; the prices of produce falling perpetually; money disappearing; the usurer's charges increasing; the new vice of drunkenness—profitable to the State—their only compensation; and to crown all, new exactions already looming upon them, because men from another part of the country, whom we had paid hitherto to keep them down, have mutinied against us. What Gospel, what good news, has the story of Christ's life and death for them, when such things are perpetrated under the sway of His professed servants? At the door of England's covetousness, self-seeking, heartlessness, lies the guilt of Indian heathenism.

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Indian heathenism, do I say? Was it a heathen officer, or a so-called Christian one, who wrote this lately to the *Bombay Times*, after the taking of Delhi: "Many will be glad to learn that women and children are suffered to go unmolested. *This is a stretch of mercy I should not have been prepared to make, had I a voice in the matter?*" Or this: "All the city people found within the walls when our troops entered were bayoneted on the spot, and the number was considerable, as you may suppose, when I tell you that in some houses forty or fifty persons were hiding. These were not mutineers, but residents of the city, *who trusted to our well-known mild rule for pardon. I am glad to say they were disappointed.*"¹ Were they heathen soldiers of whom

¹ The fact here referred to has been variously related and explained. But it is with the *spirit* of the writer that I am concerned.

PART III. an officer wrote from Neemuch, September 23d,
The Present. "Any native is fair game to a British soldier
 LECT. XXI. now; he takes him as the representative of the
 Bengal sepoy as a race?"


Yet I can make allowances for these men. Their blood is hot with perilous warfare; hot with the memorials of recent massacres near at hand. If they are ferocious, they are so against tremendous odds,—ferocious as lions at bay. But where shall I find words of horror and shame sufficient for the quiet people, the respectable people, the clever people, the pious people at home, who from their safe studies, their cozy chimney-corners, have been now for months, by their talking and their writing, hounding on their countrymen afar off to deeds like these, and are whetting even now among them a wild, blind lust for vengeance; though vengeance, if ever required, must have been glutted long ere this? Already the name of England is becoming disgraced among the nations by such conduct. These yells for blood are carefully noted down by every enemy of English freedom, of English Protestantism, as evidence of what they lead to. For the next half-century our Indian deeds of 1857—exaggerated, as they are sure to be—will be quoted to justify every massacre by Neapolitan or Spaniard, by Russian, Austrian, or Frenchman. And who, that dares look facts in the face, can look forward without sinking of heart to the possible events of the next few years in India?

Awful, then, as this lesson should have been to us, we seem to spurn it already. Our most religious men gloat over the details of sepoy atrocities, overlooking seemingly the fact that at

the best they were perpetrated by our own subjects and our own servants. Were the slaves of the United States to rise upon their masters and do the like, should we not be quick to proclaim that slavery lay at the root of the evil?—that the slaves were what their masters had made them?—that monsters though they might be, slavery was more monstrous still? And how dare we be blind to what has been taking place in India? Surely the more we scrutinize our own English conduct, the more we shall feel that the blessed English martyrs of Delhi and Cawnpore have fallen victims to our own sins and our own vices, of which the passions of our rebellious Indian slaves have been but the instruments.¹ I speak not as an indifferent bystander. I speak as one who has near and dear relations in Agra and Lucknow—others among the re-

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¹ The late lamentable fact, that the excesses of the mutineers have often fallen upon those officers who have been most devoted to the well-being of their men—most familiar with them,—does not contravene this conclusion. Surely it is one of the characteristic laws of God's government of this world,—one of its deepest mysteries,—that the innocent, the deserving (humanly speaking), *do* suffer for the guilty; and in our calmer moments we may even dimly see the reasonableness of it, as showing the “exceeding sinfulness of sin;” to which we might otherwise be blind, if only the wicked paid the penalty of their wickedness. And it is easy, moreover, to see how this divine law executes itself through the passions of mankind. There are always one or two black sheep in a regiment, as an Indian officer observed to me, in speaking upon this very subject. These men hate the good officer precisely because he is good, and because he neutralizes their influence for evil. They will, therefore, in any tumult, always take opportunity to kill him; knowing that the very horror of the act will tend to commit their comrades beyond recall. And then, if there be only one or two such officers who really understand the men, their murder may cut off a whole well-disposed regiment from any chance of remaining faithful.

PART III. *The Present.* **LECT. XXI.**  lieving troops. If we only seek to wash out blood with blood,—to rivet conquest with the iron of brute force,—to cow rebellion instead of calling forth affection,—let us be sure that we shall only prepare, in days to come, a more fearful doom for our gentle and our innocent ones. Now, more than ever, will it be certain that every sneer at a native because he is black, every cuff given to him as a “nigger,” will add secret fuel to a smouldering fire. We may exclude Brahmins and Rajpoots from employment—we may level the noblest to an equality with the lowest—we may reward the faithfulness of the trading classes by special taxation, of the princes by forced loans—we may add to the intolerable burden of our ordinary fiscal system by extraordinary levies for the expenses of the mutiny—and by so doing we shall only grind in the mill of our oppression all mutually opposed classes and races into one nation against us ; we shall only leaven the mass with uniform hatred towards us ; we shall only make hot against us the furnace of a common despair.

The far-gone past has surely solemn warnings for us. There was a state in ancient times, to which we instinctively compare ourselves,—a state of bold seamen and keen merchants,—a state whose prosperity was the envy of the world. She, too, made what were then distant conquests. She, too, subjected a vast country to her sway ; made herself rich with its revenues ; embodied its sons in her armies. Was not Carthage the England of old times ? Was not Spain her India ? But, because she ruled Spain selfishly, greedily,—grinding it down with her

exactions; because she ruled it sternly, pitilessly,—shedding blood like water whenever her oppression drew its peoples to revolt,—the time came when that great empire went to wreck. The Romans appeared—to be hardly, perhaps, milder masters; and Spain was lost for ever to Carthage, and Carthage sank to rise no more.

What republican Rome was to mercantile Carthage, that surely will imperial Russia be some day to mercantile England, if she does not resolve, to use once more Lord Wm. Bentinck's noble words, to govern India "for her own sake, and not for the sake of the 800 or 1,000 individuals who go there to make their fortunes."¹

I have said nothing in this work but what has been stated over and over again before. Twenty years ago, nearly, the British India Society carried from platform to platform throughout the country the story of Indian wrongs. More recently, the Indian Reform Association has circulated numbers of its valuable tracts. But why

¹ I cannot forbear, even in these last words, from pointing out the importance,—if we wish to govern India well,—of allowing native governments to subsist, as long as possible, as *criteria* of our rule. We cannot fairly judge of the effects of English sovereignty in India, except by comparing it with contemporary free native sovereignty. So long as any single native State surpasses our own Government in any point, we are clearly yet far short of the mark. But what if the native State be worse governed than our own territories? My answer is, That is no affair of ours, so long as it remains free. It will destroy itself when its condition becomes quite intolerable. And, in the meanwhile, the sight of its misgovernment,—provided it be clearly seen that we are not accomplices in it; that native tyranny is not, as it has too often been, maintained by English bayonets,—will be the surest pillar of our own safety. In short, whether well or ill-governed, its lessons are invaluable. Either it teaches us to govern well, or it teaches our subjects that we do so.

PART III. do I say such things in a work which I have
The Present. dedicated to students,—to students of the work-
LECT. XXI. ing classes of England? Because now, more than
ever, the question of India is and must be a
national question,—a working-men's question.
Because this insurrection, which I believe to be
the fruit of our follies and our crimes in India,
is one of the two immediate causes of this fearful
commercial crisis, which has been mowing down
our traders like grass under the scythe, filling our
manufacturing districts with want—surging al-
ready at Nottingham in riot ; which this winter
may yet arm many a burglar's hand during the
long nights. Because the other immediate
cause of the crisis,—our dependence upon the
United States,—flows directly from those same
follies and those same crimes. Raise the condi-
tion of the 200 millions of India,—make of them
happy and thriving fellow-subjects, instead of
furious savages or helpless slaves ; and such a
commercial crisis as we are now passing through
becomes, so far as human foresight can extend,
impossible. As I showed in the earliest of these
Lectures, we have in India an immense garden of
incalculable fertility, from which to draw all the
raw produce that our manufactories can ever
need,—myriads of willing, industrious hands to
bring it forth,—myriads, consequently, of ready-
found customers for all that our operatives can
work up. The cause of the welfare of the people
of India is the cause of the welfare of the people
of England. The cause of English covetousness,
insolence, brutality towards India is the cause of
England's starvation and woe.

The time may come, indeed,—I would almost

say, is come already,—when the working classes of England, if they choose, may not only sympathise with Indian reform, but help in their own persons to work it out. Already the whole patronage of the Civil Government of India is thrown open to public competition ; and the progress of events tends necessarily to universalize this step. There is nothing to hinder a working-man, if—by means of institutions such as those in which I had the privilege of delivering the foregoing Lectures, and the various others which should grow out of it, or even by stern solitary labour—he can sufficiently store his memory and discipline his powers, from winning a place even now, in fair open field, amongst the Governors of India. If ever such an event should happen, let the English working-man be true to his own order. Let him go forth, with a larger experience of life's struggles than his richer fellows, to do battle with keener insight against the social evils of the Eastern world, to make his country's name a blessing to the farthest ends of the earth.

PART III.
The Present.
LECT. XXI.

THE END.

ERRATUM.

Page 129, lines 8 and following, *for*—

“ After wretched insincere negotiations, in which there seems ground for believing that Sir Wm. McNaghten had planned part of the treachery which was practised against himself,” *read*—

“ After negotiations, in which, unfortunately for his own and his country's honour, Sir Wm. McNaghten was at last entrapped into giving colour, by the lesser treachery which he sanctioned, for the greater treachery which was practised against him.”

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